2:Métraux E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya

The Uru-Chipaya Indians of Carangas
[Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas]

A. Métraux

Paris, 1935, 1936
Journal de la Société des Americanistes
New Series, Vol. 27, pp. 111-128, 325-415;
Vol. 28, pp. 155-207 337-394

Translated from the French by Priscilla Reynolds

Human Relations Area Files
1965

[Title page]

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The Uro-Čipaya (1) Indians of Carangas

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1. One will find in Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/" (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1925, pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII, 1926, pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX, 1927, pp. 57-116) the complete bibliography and extracts from all the publications on the Uro-Čipaya which appeared up to 1927. I shall mention here only the articles published after that date in which some information on this curious tribe may be obtained. Buck (Fritz), "Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A Little-known Indian Tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/" (Cosmos, Ann. Publ. 26, 1929, pp. 12-15 and 54-56); Troll (Karl), "An expedition to the central Andes 1926 to 1928," (Geographical Review, published by the American Geographical Society of New York, April 1929, pp. 234-247). I have made known some of the results of my expedition in various popular articles a list of which follows: Métraux (Alfred), "Los Chipayas constituyen un pueblo de antigua data étnica en una de las regiones más desoladas del altiplano /The Chipaya Constitute a

/111 cont./

113 People of Ancient Ethnic Date in One of the Most Desolate Regions of the Altiplano/"" (La Patria, Oruro, March 13 and 14, 1931); Id.: "Un mundo perdido. La tribu de los Chipayas de Carangas /A Lost World. The Tribe of the Chipayas of Carangas/" (Sur, Year 1, No. 3, Buenos Airies, 1931, pp. 98-131); Id.: "Un rincón dela América prehistórica en el altiplano Boliviano/ /A Corner of Prehistoric America in the Bolivian Altiplano/" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, August 9, 1931); Id.: "Från en Försvunnen Värld. Chipayaindianerna på Bolivias högslätt /From a Lost World, the Chipaya Indians on Bolivia's Altiplano/" (Göteborgs Handels-Och Sjöfarts-Tidning, Saturday, October 3, 1931, pp. 3 and 7); Id.: "El Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán /The Institute of Ethnology at the National University of Tucuman/" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Saturday, July 9, 1932, p. 9); Id.: "Chipayaindianerna. En folkspillra från en förgången andinska Kultur /The Chipaya Indians. A Remnant from a Past Andean Culture/" (Ymer, Stockholm, 1932, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 233-271)

/111 cont./

Forward

121 [101] In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations
that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion
[114] and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among
whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the
Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the
very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and
luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya,
convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my
distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an
Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and
who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a
member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/
as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting in-
quiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me.
Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover
the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
91 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very
little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most
gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have
had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly,
I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they
had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their
main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case
very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, un-
fold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
98 Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not
forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/112 cont./

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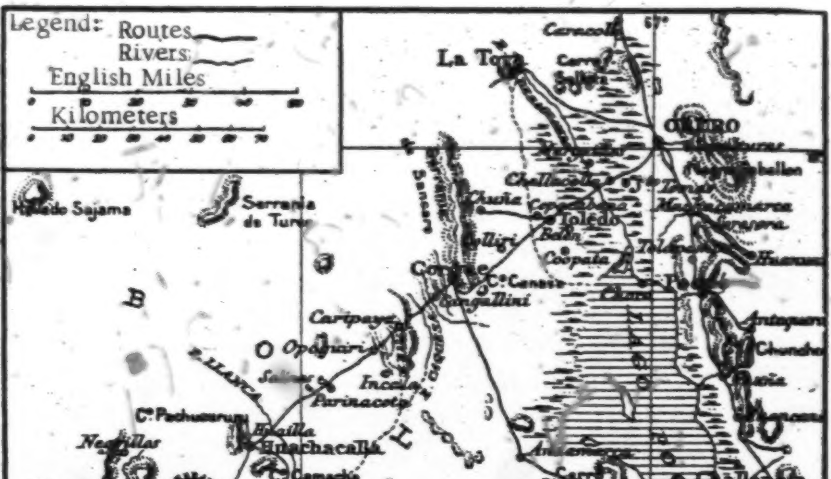
Legend: Routes
Rivers
English Miles
Kilometers
La Tora
Caracollo
Oruro
Hnedo Sajama
Serrania de Turco
Toledo
Corque
Caripaya
Opoquiri
Salinas
Huachacalla
Cerro Pachuosuru
Negrillas
Carangas
Volcan Isluga
Sabaya
Chipaya
Escara
Cerro Camacho
Cerro Ubiapasa
Cordillera de Silillica
CHILE
Cerro de Coipasa
SALINAS
CIENEGA DE COIPASA
Cº Ullulle
Tetuyo
Salinas de Garcimendoza
GRAN SALINAS
Chacmuja
Todillo
Tahua
Pisiga
Cº Sapaje
Challapata
Pampa Aullagas
Quillacas
Achoata
Tambillo
Cerro Chullcuyani
R. LACA-AHUIRA
Antamarca
Coipata
Choro
Cº Canasa
Bengallini
Inccila
Parinacota
R. LAUCA
LAGO POOPO
Huari
Cahuaso
Antequera
Poopo
Chuña
Bolivia
BOLIVIA
19°
20°
67°
68° O. Greenwich

Map 1. — Carangas Province, after J. -B. Minchin.

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 bad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
-124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.
178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

104 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č̲ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," š̲ to the French "ch," ǰ is a[illegible]ffricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l̲' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign $\underline{k}^{x}$ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e̲ is a very open e close to a closed a̲.

/114/

The Tribe and Its Environment

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[101] Location of the Čipaya. The Čipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

H3 1. In order to determine the exact location of the Čipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and B. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

/114 cont./

113 V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; *Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz* /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); *Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz* /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

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361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Capacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not
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133 stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was passably filled with water.

/114 cont./
114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
361 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and
19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
361 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[19] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes
itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara,
which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-
east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my
observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[984] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches
Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco,
on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
361 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at
roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 ✓ Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320
Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than
the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain
number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses."
Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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[113] 1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señ[illegible], comisionado del Ministeri[illegible] Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor...., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[14] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures
seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It
[651] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number
of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual
tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Čipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos).
According to my own census there would be about 100 households
in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the
authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how
exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle,[2] who was the first
scholar to mention the existence of the Čipaya, estimated their

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/115 cont./

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161 an physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/." Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de Estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des Bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/," p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929!
[14] This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

[113] 2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

/115 cont./

161 [114] number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 621 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and [161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can 123 124 161 651 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651 659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. [609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/116 cont./

651 659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, 163 892 [890] [858] and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162 [439] One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. [439] These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

197 [197] The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/117 cont. /

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna
137 (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are
[301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather
[324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate
[134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly
[311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to
312 a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[illegible] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[illegible] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as bears. The
134 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nevertheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
[132] midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[illegible] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[illegible] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "[illegible]," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
[illegible] crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/118 cont./

obsession of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 18° and a minimum temperature of 1°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low −1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

/119 cont./

132 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment
does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly
was credited to it there can be no doubt that Čipaya mythology
would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[152] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge
this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness:
"these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression
of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon
rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this
territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes
in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without
the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy
summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of
the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Čipaya worship,
is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha
hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable
number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina)
(Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained
by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only
lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more
impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves
in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never
fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which
are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of
flamingo eggs threaded together.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Čipaya tales have a small rodent, the tuco (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 200 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada; Madrid. Vol. II. 1885. pp. 58-64). p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

Carnegie [illegible]
CI-group
Bandelier 1915

/[13] cont./

6.2.1 and hilacatas (?), and he divided
6.16 the said Indians into two parties or
113 groups; one he called the Hanansaya, which means "that of the group of the upper"; the other party, the Urinsaya, which means "that which serves the lower." /Cited in Spanish./ A.F. Bandelier (The Islands of Titicaca and Koati, New York, 1910, p. 83) indicates this type of grouping among the modern Aymara: "The ayllus remained as before, as well as two larger groups, each of which embraced several clans. These groups existed at Cuzco as geographical divisions, called, respectively, Upper and Lower Cuzco "Hanan" and "Hurin-Cuzco." Under the names of "Aran-Saya and Ma-Saya," analogous divisions are met with the ayllu, by the Spaniards. At the present day the village of Tiahuanaco is divided into Aran-Saya and Ma-Saya, the former embracing what lies north, the latter what lies south, of the central square. In the older church books of Tiahuanaco the two "sayas" are noticed occasionally, the ayllu always." /Cited in English./

[14] G. McCutchen McBride ("The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series,

[illegible]

[Tr note.]

No. 3, New York, 1963, p. 3) comments a certain observation he states that each Aymara clan or ayllu was divided into two parts: "A peculiar feature of the ancient community organization, surviving in many places to-day was the division of each clan into two groups, the urinsaya and the anansaya. This division of the people is said to have originated at the time of the founding of Cuzco as the capital of the ancient Inca Empire." [Cited in English.]

The indigenous communities of Carangas Department are all divided into aran-saya and manca-saya. In Curque the aran-saya "moiety" contains six clans and the manca-saya five. The inhabitants of the village translated these two terms for me as "below part" and "above part"; but in reality if one keeps to their orientation one must say, as in Chipaya, "western moiety" and "eastern moiety." This is the same at Huachacalla. Bandelier's observations on the subject of the saya of Tiahuanacu seem to indicate that the division of clans into saya does not always depend on their respective locations in relation to west and east.

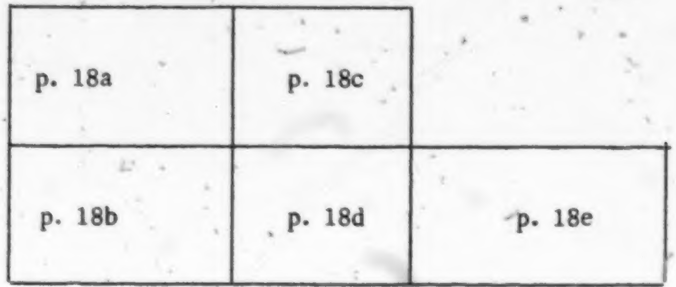
p. 18a
p. 18c
p. 18b
p. 18d
p. 18e

Chart of Positions of Map 2.
[Facing p. 18a]

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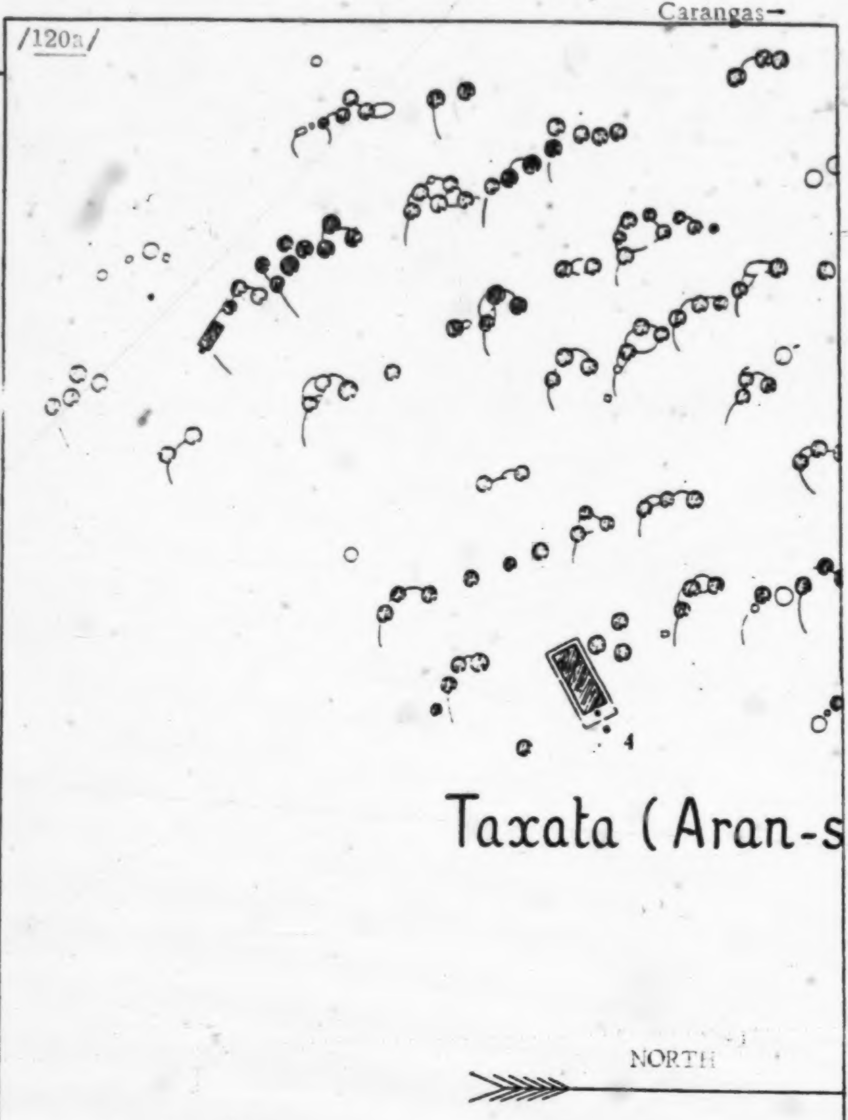
4
Taxata (Aran-s
NORTH

Map 2. Chipaya village and its clans.
1: Church; 2: Prison; 3: Cemetery; 4, 5, 6: Chapels

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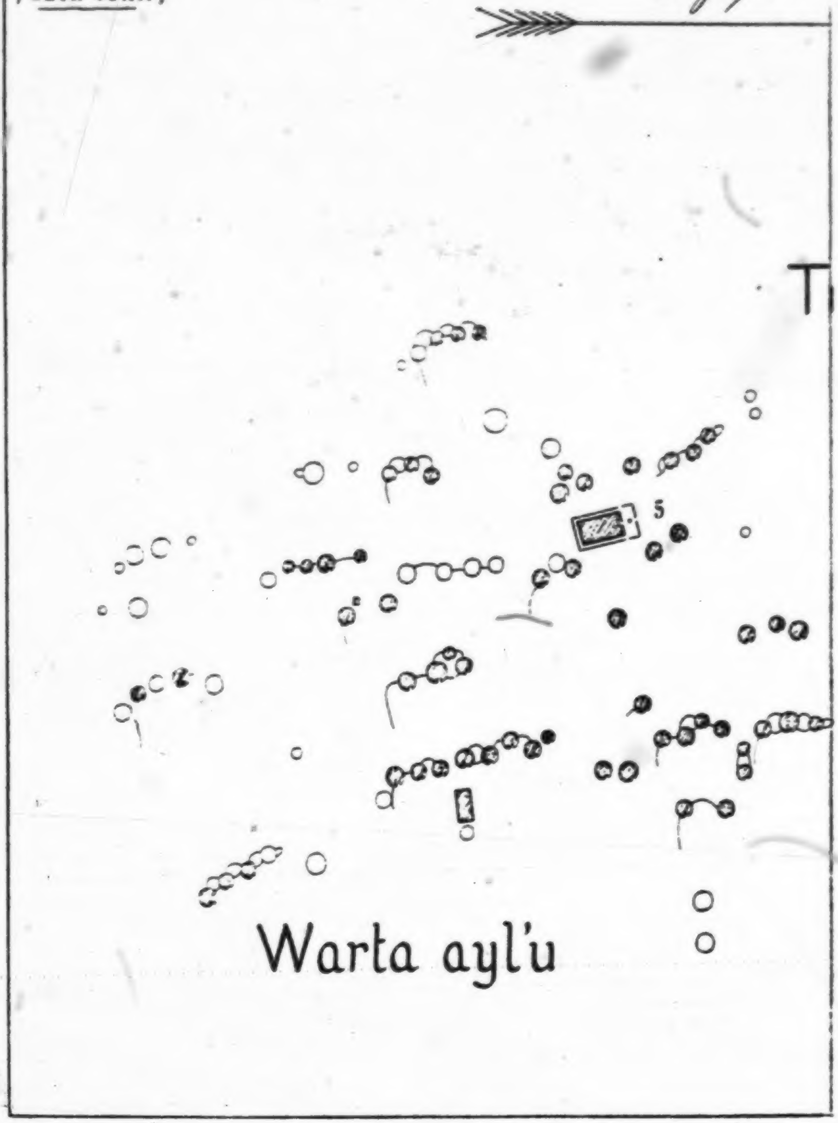
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5
Warta ayl'u

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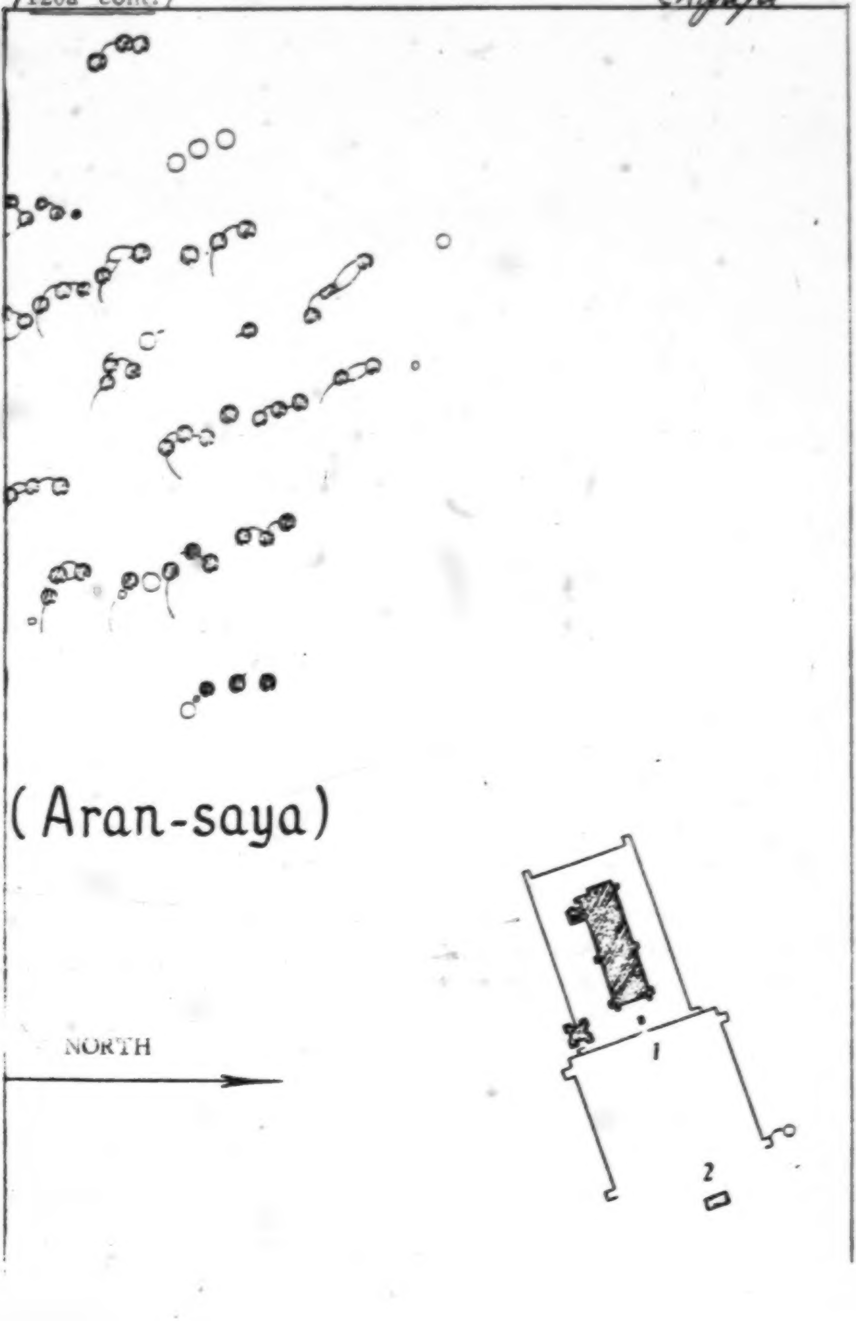
(Aran-saya)
NORTH
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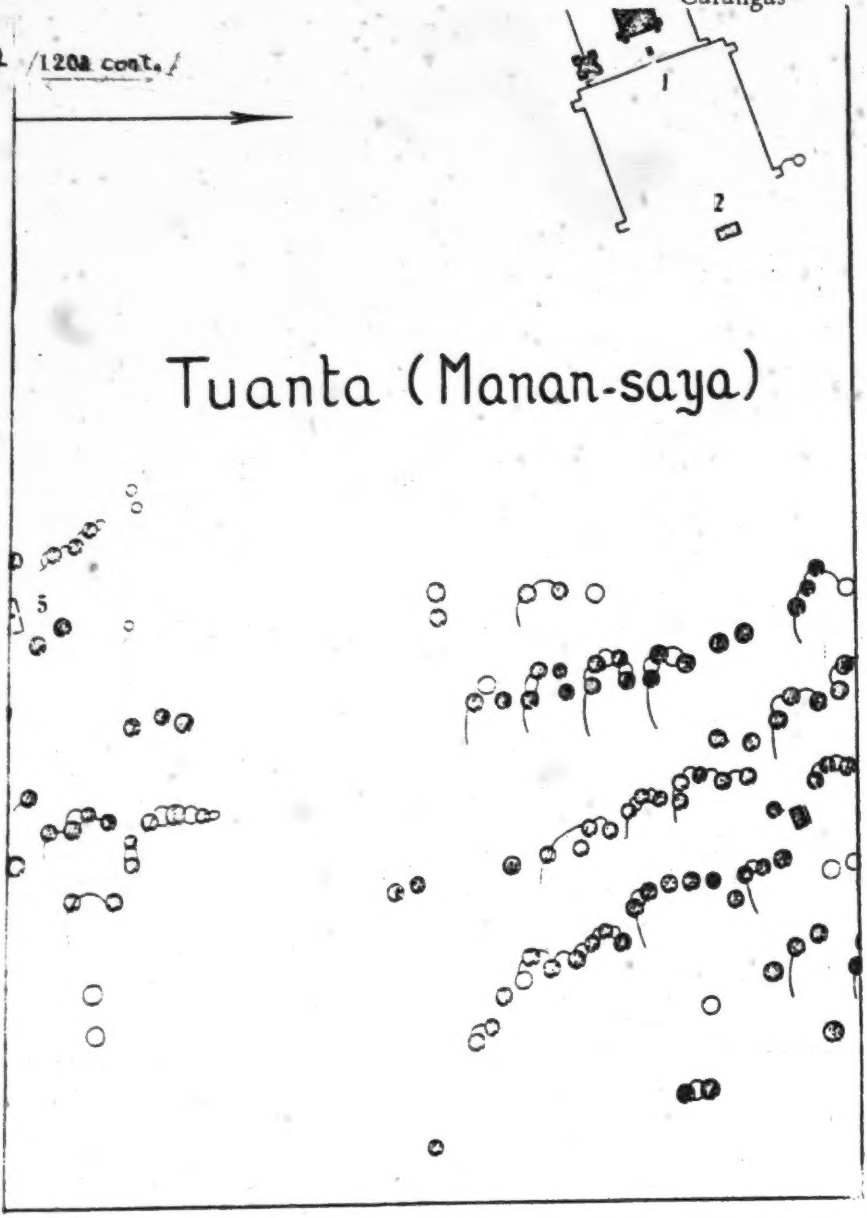
Tuanta (Manan-saya)
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Carangas-Chipaya

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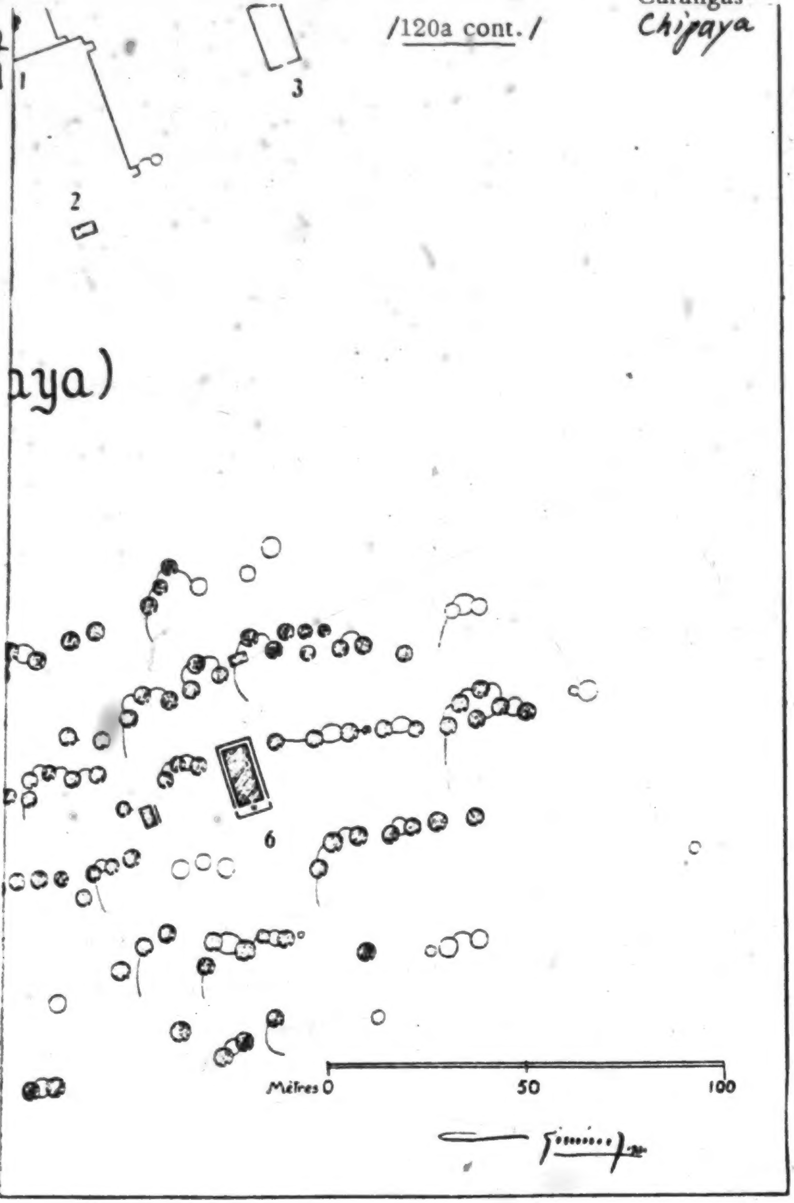
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aya)
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Mètres 0
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/121/
621 Aymara and Kǐcua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexo-
616 gamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American
[171] tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in
space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two
[622] practically independent units, without any other tie than the com-
[692] munal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a
chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the
corregidor.

621 An antagonism exists between the two sections which is
616 manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals
578 celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out
[273] between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These
squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-
[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common
that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my
presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two
"moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers
and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the
guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy
in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me.
Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal
affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences
follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the
616 two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya
[192] and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta
[195] and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and
"west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply
indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two
621 cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about
616 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors
614 ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our
informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[776] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

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/122 cont./

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their çeques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778 /122 cont./

> in all that was conquered, charging then greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

U I 346 778 171 succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the I 361 empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

U 823 82 [361] [788] It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Čipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. U [780] The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. U [172] The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. ~~The~~ modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

/123 cont./

Aside from one chapel

821 823 [697] [783] [171] the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

36 [514] The Čipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Čipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

[485] [574] In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

342 361 The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Čipaya give them: kˣas-kˣoya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancias.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

361 Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

/124 cont./

Social Organization

622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. [123] [341] I was lodged in his own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

692 /124 cont./ This form, seen in two or three
342 other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had
477 traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

692 /125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori,
486 of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

692 His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences
622 must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

623 There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets
648 to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or
[423] returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in
[692] compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/125 cont./

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The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Loza in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[177] 1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ƚaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, ~~but in~~ [551]

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616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different name. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastĩil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mã-tĩl'a
father	hep
mother	mã
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

/127 cont./

60! father's brother (youngest)	piču-tata, pičota
mother's brother	tolo, tul'u, tul'uya
father's sister	uplaya, piču-mama
mother's sister	malak^{x}al'a, piču-mama
son	mač, (wet-mač: "my son")
daughter up to ten years old	tur, māt, (wet-māt: "my daughter"); xat-waw (lit.: "female child")
adult daughter	naš-māt, naš-uš
grandson, granddaughter	tuto
[197] brother	hila (Aymara)
brother (name a sister uses)	wisi
younger brother	lak^{y} (wet-lak^{x}: "my younger brother")
elder brother	pak^{x} hila (lit.: "brig brother")
[197] sister	kul'aka (Aymara)
younger sister	taipir kul'aki, skolta kul'aki, pič-kul'aki (lit.: "little sister"), lak^{x}
older sister	pakx-kul'aki (lit.: "big sister")
brother's son	pak^{x}-hil-uša, hil-š-mač, lak^{x}-lau
sister's son	kul'aka-mač
brother's daughter	hil-š-māt, pak^{x}-uš
sister's daughter	kul'aka-māt, pak^{x}-kul'aka-uš, kul'a-kane-wawalpa, malak^{x}alk^{x}a-uša
male first cousin	hilaš-k^{x}a-uša
female first cousin	kul'akis-k^{x}a-uš
single woman	turtaka
married woman	tun
a man calls his brother's wife:	tsuñi, t'uñi
a wife calls her brother's wife:	tau(wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

/127 cont./

601 a wife calls her sister's husband:	tsun (wet-tsun: "my brother-in-law")
/128/ a husband calls his wife's father:	axmus, axmus hep
a husband calls his wife's mother:	kaičiña
son-in-law	wasi
daughter-in-law	wasal'u, wasal'a
husband of a remarried mother:	wir ep
wife of a remarried father:	wiri-mã
[177] male cousin (without distinguishing degree)	pirimiri-hila (Spanish and Aymara)
[177] female cousin (without distinguishing degree)	pirimiri kul'aka (Spanish and Aymara)
man	ǰeš
young man	toa
child (boy)	skolta-uša
child (girl)	skolta-ušal'a, skolta-wawa-ušal'a, kˣat-uš, uš.

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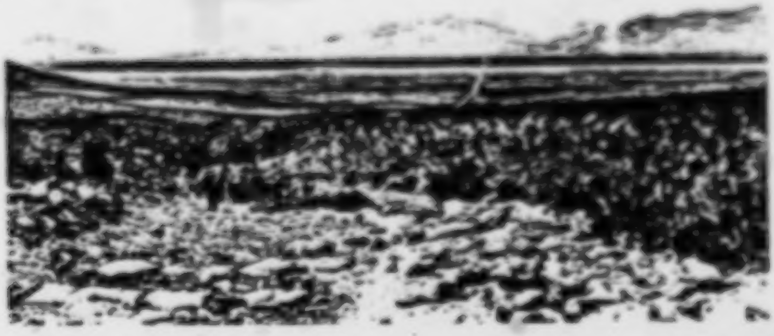
Plate VI



A. -- The Carangas puna.

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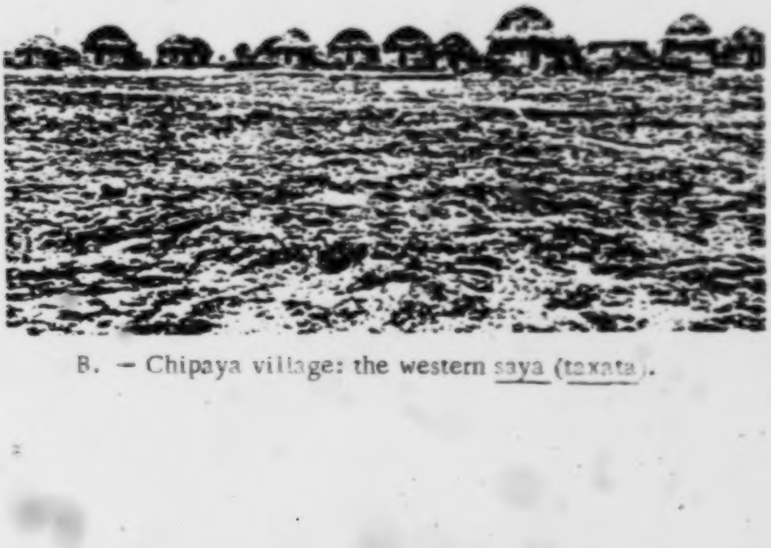

B. -- Chipaya village: the western saya (taxata).

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

771 177 178 *Aymara and Spanish influence*. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long [797 177] time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on 771 177 whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The [585 844] Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. [illegible] But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or [illegible] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some- [776] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

[796] There would be little required for certain festivals, such as [illegible] those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed [794] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character [576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The 796 554 177 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study [192] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/326 cont./
177 mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of
197 Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not
only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such
[191] as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the
Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves
they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of
Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even
177 Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last de-
188 tail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish
expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or
formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites
which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order
to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only
have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved
by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just
said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

177 Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not
533 impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence.
[171] The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those
which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara
in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed
real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara
half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprentice-
ship outside their village.

174 The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly
771 recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced
by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century.
[171] They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara.
These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest de-
gree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites through-
out the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence.
On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the
171 great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Ay-
174 mara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

/327 cont./

171 174 consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

776 [778] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, an~~d their church~~ tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[778 825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[782] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

[777] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). [782] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

/328 cont./

976 addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

[782] It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

*778 776 [92] The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. *778 This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is [782] covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented *778 toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. 782 These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

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[113] 1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico). Vocabulario de la lengua aymará /Vocabulary of The Aymara Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann). Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

/329 cont./

*778 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed
an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries,
where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes
every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance
from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration
of the ceremony the Indians burn *khoa* there, a resinous plant
which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*778 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues"
representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were
designated to me when I heard about them for the first time.
"These are," the interpreter translated, "*bultos a manera de hombres*
[552] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a
name (*Čunkirini*, *Korisančuri*, *Kemperani*, *Kant*, *Kilimint*,
Kusil'er, *Kusil'awari*, *Estewan*, *Waxma*, etc.), and if the majority
of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[777] [776] the *saya tuanta* is called *Estewan*, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
recognized officiant of the *saya tuanta* about the nature and attributes
of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied
to me that they were spirits who crossed the *puna* disguised as white
men dressed in a tunic (*ira*) of the same color, and with a large hat
on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each *saya* has its own *mal'ku* near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[782] *Kemperani mal'ku*) constructed at the boundary of the *sayas*, which
is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*778 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
174 *waka* (*huaca*) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

1. I am tempted to see in the *Kiliment* (*o*) *mal'ku* a demon whose Spanish name, *Clemento*, has been indianized.

U *778 174 /329 cont./
destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

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1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Politica, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish./ Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

I 778 776 113 /330 cont./

huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/, Vol. I, p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish./

U +778 776 174 cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaprhomi: wife of the

2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish./ If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

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Y *778 The word mal'ku among the Čipaya as among the Aymara
[171] also indicates a special category of fetishes which are widespread
in Carangas Province and perhaps also in other parts of the territory
A inhabited by the Aymara and the Kičua. These are stuffed animals
778 or plants which protect the house. My Aymara interpreter gave me
miscellaneous information on the subject of the mal'ku of his people,
A the accuracy of which I have subsequently been able to verify.
[824] The mal'ku can be a rather rare cactus which the Indians gather
in the fields and which they transplant to the courtyard of their hut.
A [782] They build a miniature chapel of adobes for it, decorate it with
[777] tufts of colored wool and snakewood /serpentin/, and make a sacrifice to it on the first of August, the month which is considered "aciago," i.e., of evil omen.

A 782 778 788 539 /331/ Here is the sacred formula in Kičua which is recited while making offerings to the mal'ku:

Mal'kito	kaita	korisk^{x}aiki	wawaik^{x}ika
Little mal'ku	this	I will give thee	we are thy sons
amapinak^{x}onkiču	tukuy	imata	korisk^{x}aiki.
do not be angry	all	next	I will give thee.

"Little mal'ku, I make thee this offering. We are thy sons. Do not be angry. I will make thee this offering presently."

A 778 [825] The titi-mal'ku is a wildcat, grey in color, which the Indians stuff, put on a table or a box, and to which they make offerings of coca every Friday and Saturday. It is often decorated with ribbons and other ornaments. My informant led me to the house of a chola of Oruro, where I saw one of these animals prepared in this way.

A [342] [782] The crossbeams of the roof (ako-mal'ku) are also qualified with the epithet mal'ku and are considered sacred since they receive blood sacrifices.

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*778 Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector
U [825] of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise
U [171] pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut. Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet
U *778 197 mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and
U [782] today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

*778 171 127 /332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning
M 778 769 "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

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1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

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the "mallkos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before repairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the mallkos." "Near the lagoon of Pokle there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Mallko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/." In the first examples the word mal'ku seems to be synonymous with malqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas," Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munaos on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis." As at Huarochirí mallko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word malqui, which has the same meaning. As for the mallko rock, it is identical with the ancient konopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the samiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word mallko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Čipaya homonym.

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Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

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2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of the Idolatry of Peru/, p. 14.

3. Paredes (Rigoberto), Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions, and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920, pp. 53-56.

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*778 171 contains several allusions to *mal'ku*, which the author confused with the Wasa *mal'ku* which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the *fronton*, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the *mal'ku*, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household *mal'ku*, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a *mal'ku*, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*778 174 In contrast to the word *mal'ku* itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya *mal'ku* are nothing other than *huaca*, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

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[113] 1. See among others Jijón y Caamaño (J). *La religión del Imperio de los Incas* /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). *Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos* /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

A /333 cont./

A 778 The shore-dwelling Aymara on the Titicaca give the word ačačila, "ancestors," a meaning near that of the word mal'ku. "The Aymara A [823] Indians," Bandelier (2) tells us, "call each 'nevado' or snowy peak 'Achachila,' i.e., 'grandfather.' They apply this term to every outstanding thing; the importance of the achachila does not, however, always correspond with its size." "The Aymara of the islands pay particular attention to the achachilas, literally, to the grandfathers, spirits who reside in elevated places or in striking objects and which are supposed to exercise continual influence over man. This belief in the achachilas is nothing other than the fetishism so well characterized by Mr. Cushing, traces of which I have found in every Indian tribe with which I have been in contact. Every extraordinary object in nature is presumed by the Aymara to contain a nucleus or a spiritual essence which plays an active role in A [114] the existence of that which surrounds it, including men." Bandelier's interpretation is naturally far too highly colored with animism, but what he tells us about the ačačilas or the ačačila (the Earth-mother is also an acacila) and their worship greatly recalls the concept of mal'ku and the superstitious practices of which the mal'ku are the object (3).

2. Bandelier. The Islands of Titicaca and Koati, pp. 8 and 94.

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3. A passage from the chronicler, Cristóbal de Molina (Relación de la conquista y población del Perú /Account of the Conquest and Population of Peru/. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú /Collection of books and documents referring to the history of Peru/. Lima, Vol. I, 1916

Carangas –
Chipaya
Inca SE13
Modern Quechua SE24

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pp. 105-199, p. 147) leads us to understand that in ancient Peru the word mama finally received a meaning close to that of huaca (waka) and might be translated by "sacred, holy." "The method by which they made up these huacas, which they invoked to the point of idolatry, was because they said that the Sun created all things, and that it gave them each a mother; and that they cut the land because they said that it had a mother, and they had made for it /?/ busts and adoratorios /"temples of idols"/; and fire they said also had a mother, and maize and other sowing seeds and the sheep and cattle had a mother; and chicha, which is the beverage they use, they said that its vinegar was the mother and venerated it and called it mama, water mother of vinegar, and they idolatrized each thing in this manner, and they had made for it, as I say, houses and set up a complete and special service for them; and the sea they said had a mother who was called marivacocha, which is the mother of the sea, and for which they had great respect." /Cited in Spanish./

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/334/ An evolution analogous to that of the word mal'ku occurred in Kičua with the word auki, whose early meaning was identical, namely "master, lord."

Chipaya
Modern Quechua
SE24

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776 In the Cuzco region "the auquis form a special category of guardian spirits of the air, the water, and the earth. They preside over the actions of men and receive their offerings. It is believed that individuals, animals, and things are possessed by mysterious beings, spirits, fluids, and essences, the manifestations of which are often concrete. Of these, some are benevolent and become protectors if they receive the offerings of men, above all the first-fruits of drinks (sic) which they consume. Just as the auqui may be a protecting divinity, others are always malevolent and constantly inflict ills on certain persons. It is they who create the hail and freezing, who destroy the harvests, cause epizootic disease, and make the murderous and destructive lightning fall. These are the machus of the Kičua and the achachis of the Aymara (these two words have the meaning of old) who are insulted, at whom rocks are thrown, and who are jeered to keep them at a distance (1)."

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1. Ordóñez (Pastor). "Los Varayocc /The Varayocc/," Revista universitaria. Cuzco, 8th year, No. 29, September 1919 (pp. 41-48), pp. 41-42.

The word auqui recurs frequently in the reports published by the University of Cuzco on the folklore of this region. It is thus that the flocks are supposed to be protected by an auqui and that the soul of a sick person may be taken captive by an auqui (2).

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2. Muñiz (César A.). "Del folk-lore indígena /Native Folk-lore/," Revista universitaria. Cuzco, 16th year, No. 52, 1926, pp. 14-20.

M /334 cont./
776 The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

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778 The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play
782 a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority
[771] of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When
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[791 in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku,
823] he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while
uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

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778 The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

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778 The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the
231 prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri
of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is
from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The
Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the
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778 fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent
192 to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes
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778 or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the
231 prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

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1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

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778 The worship of samiri exists among the modern Aymara, al-
[171] though their samiri are of a different nature and have a more extensive role than in Chipaya. Near Corque while making excavations I saw a stone about 20 cm. high which looked vaguely like a human statuette. I wanted to carry it away but was dissuaded. The loss of this stone would have afflicted and upset the Indians for whom it was a samiri. A mountain, the Malaku Kurusani, was pointed out to me by the Aymara of the village of Kurusani as being their samiri. They gathered there on Saint Andrew's day to burn khoa and slaughter a llama or sheep. The ačačila, or an-
778 cestors, come down from this mountain to bring "luck." My Ay-
825 mara interpreter furnished me with other facts about the samiri
[777] which I will present just as he related them: "The samiri are animals which are kept with one and which bring luck. They are generally toads or lizards that are caught in the fields and put into little glass boxes. They are fed with candies. Each Tuesday and
[782] Friday offerings and libations (č'al'a) are made to them. They receive coca with llijta (l'ixta) at this time. In Kičua country the
[171] libation is accompanied by the following formula:
[539]

wefá	wastawan	kompañawačun	sumak
to offer coca	more	that may accompany me	good

suerte.
fortune.

778 /336/ At San Pedro near Oruro one can see two stone lizards and a toad which are the samiri of Oruro. When these stones are
[787] moved it is a presage of misfortune (1).

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1. This information is confirmed by Paredes, Mitos, supersticiones y superviviencias, etc., p. 67:

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> "Near the city of Oruro there was a large loose stone in the shape of a toad which was considered a miraculous huaca by the pueblo and, consequently, it venerated it by covering it constantly with flowers and maslin, and pouring over it chicha, wine, and brandy." /Cited in Spanish./

778 791 796 782 825 Mal'ku konvento is the samiri of Umala: The yatiri, or Aymara magicians, have buried living toads there. These batrachians do not suffer, it appears, from their underground stay and even multiply. The box in which they are contained must be changed every year, and on this occasion a great festival takes place over which the body of yatiri or magicians presides. The latter perform various mysterious rites which those present, kept at a distance, can only dimly observe. The medicine men give long speeches interrupted by frequent libations. Every inhabitant of the village must make some offering to the samiri: morsels of sugar, khoa, llama fat, bottled wine, pure alcohol, and coca with llijta. Moreover, two black llamas are sacrificed; their blood is buried, their bones burned, and their meat eaten by the faithful. [534] This ceremony is a pretext for all kinds of merrymaking, in particular, dances to the sound of the flute and tambourine.

778 789 231 The samiri is thus the protector of the village, and it also watches over the flocks. To gain its protection for the livestock, amulets representing oxen and sheep are deposited at the consecrated spot. Each year at sowing time two ewes are sacrificed to it.

778 823 The samiri can be a mountain. Accordingly the hill of Potosí is a samiri and legend has it that a toad lives at its summit. [825] The hill of Oruro is itself also a samiri. In the inauspicious hours of the night two mysterious serpents appear there which make weak-[782]hearted men die. The worshipers of the hill of Potosí offer up

/336 cont./

778 823 [782] libations (čʼalʼa) and offerings of llama fetus to it. They burn incense made of khoa to it and smash a bottle of wine in its honor. These sacrifices, which are not carried out at any set date, always take place at the foot of the mountain. The summit inspires profound terror in the Indians, who would not venture there under any pretext.

[782] Besides mountains bodies of water and caves can be samiri. The latter are particularly awesome and it is preferable to stay away from them. The offerings are deposited at a certain distance, and the yatiri themselves hardly dare approach these sacred places.

778 114 /337/ The only precise bibliographic information on the samiri that I know about are in R. Paredes' book (1). These references like everything Paredes gives us are enveloped with embellishments which considerably alter their scientific value: "samiri, repository, place marked out as the original home of the ancestors, whether men or animals. Because of this fact a strange vital force has remained localized in this place, and each time that the descendant goes there he receives life-giving inspiration and returns full of courage. Such a quality has been given this place by the Pača-mama, who did not wish to grant the inhabitants of her age all that she could have bestowed upon them. Thus, as long as life exists, as long as there is a world, her sons will not lack means to remedy their discouragement and physical wear and tear. This place is a mother for the living being who implores its aid. The Indians venerate these places which are considered sacred and offer sacrifices to them.

778 "My samiri," says the Indian, and he points out an elevation, a summit, a field, or a grotto. "The samiri of my flock is such-and-such another place," he adds, and he indicates similar places although he may never have been there."

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1. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias, etc., pp. 41-42.

/337 cont./

778 If Paredes' accounts are correct the samiri of the present-day
175 Aymara are the pakarina of the ancient Peruvians, i.e., the place
195 from whence each ayl'u, or clan, has sprung and which is conse-
[614] quently sacred and revered by the members of this clan. As the samiri of the Čipaya do not have such a character in any respect, one may assume that the word samiri like mal'ku has taken on an extended meaning which it did not have originally, and that it has finally come to designate, besides the pakarina, the protecting fetishes of the flocks and fields.

778 The chronicles and documents of the sixteenth century do not
175 mention samiri. In the famous work of the inquisitor Arriaga (2), however, a brief allusion is made to sacred places called zamana. "And not only do they venerate Huacas but even places where they say that they rested or /where/ Huacas were, which they call zamana, and other places from where they invoke them, which they call Cayan, they also venerate." /Cited in Spanish./ The word zamana has here a meaning close to that which Paredes gives samiri, "repository."

2. Arriaga, Extirpación de la idolatría en el Pirú, p. 12.

The definition of zamana given by Arriaga could not suit any of the Aymara or Čipaya types of samiri.

Here, as in the case of the word mal'ku, one term has been substituted for /338/ another and has been extended to include an idea that was formerly foreign to it. This is, however, only pure hypothesis on my part, for we must not forget that we know only a little about the former religion of the Aymara, and one cannot always infer Kičua beliefs from those of the Aymara, despite a certain homogeneity of cults and religious representations among the inhabitants of the ancient Peruvian empire.

[614] The present state of our knowledge compels us to look upon the samiri as clan fetishes with a specialized or nonspecialized function, or simply as sacred places from whence each clan has sprung.

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*778 776 823 [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such as the Sajama, in particular. [133] The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pačamama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with Maria, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*778 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

/339 cont./
*778 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians
call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word *kamana-para*,
[171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate
their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or *mal'ku*,
near the *samiris'* cellar or in the chapels and the village church.
I have already mentioned above the location of the *mal'ku* in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of
*778 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a
346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for
observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity
common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle
of the neutral ground which separates the two *saya*. Its interior is
miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the
rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images
[782] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of
coca, and libations of alcohol and *chicha*. Exactly as in other
[776] Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes
containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the
Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given
all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One
sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow
in ~~which~~ a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of
candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan
as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the
same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to
drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity.
From the *Tuanta* chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices,
which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward
the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

/339 cont./

*778 347 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vaguely comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Čipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

*778 346 171 [487] [491] Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place [491] roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming *778 171 an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

/340 cont./

*778 171 of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

*796 554 The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the [578] alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. [171 177] The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to

*796 /341 cont./ One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to
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1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it.
*796 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are
554 often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help.
426 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 During the Čipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came
431 to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the
*796 world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador
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3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

/342 cont./

*796 554 there they are priostes, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one 171 year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of *796 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of 791 yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem 791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the 791 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill 756 was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

*796 Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun, 792 made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions 159 were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

/342 cont./

*796 792 159 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals, strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling, rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art, and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them [781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have lacked without him.

159 791 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 622 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).

The first of January, the day on which the transmission of powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the [354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating [152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

/343 cont./

*796 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter
622 also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new *alcaldes* and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The *Corregidor*, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of *eau-de-vie*. One after the
692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex
576 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened *mien*, they stretched their arms toward the *Corregidor* and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They
[273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The *Corregidor* returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the *Corregidor* went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out-
535 going *alcalde* who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He
[292] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He
[301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold
[824] [939] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/344 cont./ Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[431] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[273] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the
Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There
I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the
floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile
of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick
of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin
full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his
favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick
features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which
was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately
to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his
[276] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves
from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others
moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of
which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[782] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the
offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha
[273] of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the
alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had
the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and
greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to
his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The
individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and
shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[152] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to
that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/345 cont./

622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[203] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya
[204] tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial
[782] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians
[276] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol,
[273] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu
*796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered,
539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpača	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpač-patruna,	todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky master,	all

wawataki.	Lo	mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise		Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukˣaro	todos	mondos	pakˣalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

/345 cont./

*796
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loktaña	suma	ora	resibitanta.	Lo mismo,	araxpača,
I give thee	good	hour	receive.	Likewise,	sky,

pobri	wakča	wawmat	aka	wakča,	Tatai,	istitai
poor	orphans	children	these	orphans,	Father,	hear me

laiku	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	San Xeronimo.
for them	good	weather	send me,	Saint Jerome.

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons, Father, hear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

*796 I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. [532] The women had flowers stuck in their plaits, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite [533] a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

/346 cont./

*796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Čipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the [776] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and [276] [273] some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

1. The Indians give the name copal (kupala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

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*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

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539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpača	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36

platu	resibite	tarapital'a,	ukˣaro	Santo	San	Felipe,
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,	next	Saint	Saint	Philip

ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo	Yunguyo(1)	resibe
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint	Yunguyo	receive

[103] 1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka	insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a
thou wilt receive	this	incense,	receive	thou wilt receive

todos	abogados	araxpača,	suma	karpa,	waino (2)	karpa,
all	intercessors,	sky,	good	rain,		rain,

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[192] 2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

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has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpača	hasiru,	kočeru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpača	makinero,	araxpača	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pak^{x}al'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kača	pak^{x}al'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	čita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

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*796 Kimsa-čata, lo mismo xača mal'ku, L'auka-mal'ku,
539 "Three summits," likewise great demon, Lauca-demon,

Lauka tal'a, apayaniri taki parwal'a apayaniri,
Lauca-demon woman, who sends all the grass who sends,

lo mismo xumapekätoktanta, Estewan-mal'ku, Čunkirini-
likewise thou wilt receive Stephen-demon, Čunkirini-

mal'ku, katoxtanta marka-kol'o, pokara,
demon, thou wilt receive country mountains, demon?,

katoxtanta Korisančuri-mal'ku, katoxtanta
thou wilt receive, Korisancuri-demon, thou wilt receive

Kemperani-mal'ku, Kemperani-tal'a, tunkapayani
Kemperani-demon, Kemperani-demon woman, 12

parwal'a, todos parwal'a, katoxtanta Kilimint-mal'ku,
grasses, all grasses thou wilt receive Kilimint-demon,

Kilimint-tal'a, Kusil'er-mal'ku, marka-kol'o,
Kilimint-demon woman Kusil'er-demon, country-mountains,

marka-tal'a Waxma-mal'ku, mamita-señor(a)
land female demons, Waxma-demon, little mother lady

Sant(a) Ana, pá pokarani, turi mal'ku kača pokara,
Saint Anne, two demons(?), tower demon great demon,

pá wertani, mamit(a) Sant(a) Ana, pá kača kotani.
two plants, little mother Saint Anne, two great lakes.

/348 cont./

*796 539 "Virgin foster mother of all these three kinds of livestock, foster mother of the large livestock (the llamas), foster mother of pigs, foster mother of sheep. (You) the "Three summits," likewise thou, great demon, divine river Lauca, Lauca demon woman, who sends us all our grass, receive (these offerings). Demon Stephen, demon Čunkirini, receive (these offerings), receive them also, mountains of the country, demons, receive (these offerings) and you also, demon Korisančuri, demons Kemperani, male and female, (give us) 12 kinds of grasses, all the grasses, receive (these offerings), demons Kilimint, male and female, demons /349/ Kusil'er, mountains of the country, female divinities, demon Waxma, little-mother, lady Saint Anne, two demons, sacred Tower, great demon, little mother Saint Anne, (give us) the two plants, two great lakes."

*796 Without interrupting his invocations for a single second, with nervous and rapid gestures, as if he were being urged to finish, the Officiant threw in front of him the contents of the cups which his assistant held out to him two by two.

The last cup emptied he got up with two mugs of alcohol in one hand and a pinch of coca in the other and, turning toward the north, he called on all the mal'ku one by one.

*796 539

Čiksa-č'al'a	aka	mal'ku	tal'a
Together let us offer libations	this	demon	female demon

taki	takpača	L'auka-mal'ku	Saxama-mal'ku	Čunkirini
for	all	sacred Lauca	sacred Sajama	Čunkirini-

mal'ku	son	mal'ku	ilxpax	Estewan	mal'ku	turi-mal'ku
demon	are	greatest	demons	Stephen	demon	sacred tower

son	marka	mal'ku.
are	country	demons.

/349 cont./

*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Čunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartasä.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Pača-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 576 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

u /350 cont./
*796 making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pretense
576 of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word *tatai* or *mamai*, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate, by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he

u
*796 wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had
539 to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and
576 address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "*San Xeronimištan čuta*, *San Mikelištan čuta*, *San Filipištan čuta*, *Antonio tataštan*

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[175]
[576]

(1) These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

/350 cont./

*796 539 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakˣal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips: *796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather

aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for

kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakˣal'a
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock

nasimiento	taki.
birth	for

/351 cont./

*796 [539] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[273] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity. [776] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[539]

Taki	čulma	č‘al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] [301] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[202] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [264] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/352 cont./

*796 prayer reciters called upon the saints and the Earth-mother in the name of the gathering, which listened in peaceful contemplation. Everyone then went his own way after having kissed the nourishing earth.

*778
*796 /353/ The festival of the Samiri (January 20)

This festival took place around the small cellar (kaxuela) where the sacred stones (samiri) are buried. It was concealed under a yareta on top of a bare mound which stands southeast of the saya-tuanta not far from the last of the small oratories, which stretch in a line from the village for about a league toward the east.

When I arrived the cellar had already been opened and the samiri placed together in a terra-cotta dish (Fig. 35, B /see p. 78 /). I had been preceded to the place of the ceremony by the alferez and his wife as well as about 15 members of the tuanta, who had come with their complete households. All had chosen a place and the groups were settled at the right and left of the alferez in a semicircle open toward the east. The men were in the first row and the women were behind their husbands. Between the two they had spread a small tablecloth on which a bottle of alcohol, the two traditional silver drinking cups, and a bag full of coca had been placed. The baggage of the alferez and his wife was naturally more extensive; in addition, on the rubble from the open cellar they had planted the two white banners (či-wandera), insignia of their office, which waved in the breeze beside the sacred stick (kampara or kamana-para) of the Officiant. The llama, sheep, and pig destined for sacrifice lay stretched out before the audience, their hoofs firmly bound. A bandage had been bound over the llama's eyes.

Each new arrival received two drinking cups full of alcohol and a little coca with which he had to offer up a libation and an offering over each of the future victims (Pl. XI, C /see p. 132/).

/353 cont./

*778 Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal
*796 or khoa were burning under their noses.

[782] Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (kˣuli l'umpaka) and black (tsox kˣuli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which
[873] he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg.

*778
*796
539 He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Pača-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

Werxina	unto-kˣal'u	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise .

parwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraǰa.
grass	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grass which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) that which thou lovest."

/354 cont./

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Werxina	yu(u)wiri	t'apa	čivi	k^{x}al'u	tanšni	tija
Virgin	foster mother	all	white	pellet	take	this

amura	hasiki	škatoktišina	t'apa	čivi	k^{x}al'u.
love	in this moment	receive	all	white	pellet.

"Foster-mother Virgin, take this white pellet of fat which thou lovest. In this moment receive this white pellet of fat."

*778
*796
During this part of the ceremony his helper spread a napkin in front of the cellar on which he set out 36 small mugs filled with water; then the Officiant prepared the libation (1). He began

1. On the day of the festival of Kemperani-mal'ku I observed several variants in the preparation of the Č'al'a. Here they are: the yatiri rubbed the first two cupules of the first row with a blackish stone, which he deposited beside the second mug, and did likewise with the two following, but this time with a reddish stone, which he placed after the fourth. The bottoms of the two latter were also rubbed with a greyish stone, which he left on the rug. The Officiant then proceeded to do the same operation with beads from stone necklaces of pre-Columbian origin. After having grated the bottom of a mug with one of these beads, he took another of them and followed suit until all the beads of the necklace had soaked in the cupules full of water.

/354 cont./

*778
*796
He then put portions of gold and silver leaf in 18 mugs (12 gold and six silver). The mugs in the last row received grey and white flour and those in the first, feathers of a bird called čuči. The ten-centavo coin was placed in the middle of the mugs. On a neighboring cloth he placed 12 mugs two by two. Into the first two he poured cinnamon bark and white maize flour, into the two next ones grey flour. Two separate drinking cups were filled with alcohol and one of them received green mineral powder and the other blue powder.

[823] In the mal'ku festivals I was able to ascertain that the contents of the phials was always poured in the direction of the cardinal points, in the midst of invocations to the mal'ku and to the earth-mother. The yatiri who officiated during the festival of the Kemperani-mal'ku poured out his phials beginning to the east, the north, and the west, and ending to the south.

/355/ by taking out three stones (yunka, tsox-yunka), apparently siliceous in nature, from his bundle, and then two ten-centavo coins, one of which he placed in front of himself and the other on the opposite edge of the cloth. He then passed on to the preparation of the mixture. To this end he set out in succession the following materials: small mica crystals, bird down, incense, copal,

/355 cont./

*778 portions of silver leaf (koriki-wanderl'a) and gold leaf (kori-
*796 wanderl'a, kori-limpi), a white maize flour, violet maize flour, crushed candies, and lastly mineral powder of various colors. Outside the cloth the assistant had placed two cupules in which only a part of the enumerated ingredients were mixed. I could observe that, among other things, mineral powders of different colors were put in them (Fig. 35, D /see p. 78/).

These mixtures were considered definitely ready only when the Officiant had dipped each of the siliceous stones of which I just spoke into all the mugs.

On one side of the rug the assistant magician had lined up 12 phials also full of water. Only a bit of calcareous powder, white and grey maize flour, and mineral powders of different colors were poured into them. As with the cupules two phials in addition to the 12 had been put aside. A concoction which differed somewhat from those preceding it was prepared in each of them (Fig. 35, E /see p. 78/). Green mineral powder in particular was poured into one, a substance which had not been used before.

Once the libations were fully prepared the Officiant planted on the east side a cross with a chaplet, both covered with a handkerchief. Beside the cross he planted a sacred stick (kaman-para). At their foot was placed a handful of khoa which was set alight in order to burn there, along with some coca leaves two llama fetuses rudely decorated with tufts of red wool.

The Officiant knelt down in front of the rug, his body turned to the east.

To pour out the contents of the last two cupules, the Officiant stood up, his arms outstretched in the gesture of offering. Before offering up this final libation, he uttered, with particular composure, a long prayer.

He then passed to his phials, the liquid in which he threw in the air while walking /356/ around the assembly and uttering invocations to the various divinities of the tribe.

/356 cont./

*778 *796 Offerings of coca, pinches of which were sown in the wind in the direction of the four cardinal points, followed the libations (č'al'a). /Fig. 35 appears here/

The alferez' wife then arose and went to attach tufts of red and yellow wool around each samiri. Then kneeling in front of the Officiant and his assistant, she and her husband made a pretense of clasping them in their arms in order to thank them for their work.

During the entire ceremony two censers (Fig. 35, C /see p. 78/) had been kept lit in front of the /357/ samiri; the alferez and his wife took hold of them to go render homage to the Officiant. This same gesture was repeated by all the new arrivals who were beginning to come in great numbers. Each Indian upon arriving at the ceremonial area began by taking one of the censers, the flame of which he re-animated by blowing on it and adding a few pinches of incense. Then, getting down on his knees, he covered several meters toward the east in this position. He then put down his censer, recited a prayer, and then dragged himself to the samiri to fumigate them. Finally, without getting up he went to greet the alferez and the alfereza with the gestures previously described.

*778 *796 324 While the Officiant was ending the first part of the ceremony, the alferez and his wife had begun to lay out the straw that they had brought in sheafs. Each sheaf was tied with festive slings and on the front new sacks of coca in gaudy colors and decorated with glass beads were attached. A few quinua plants had been mingled with the stalks of straw. The alferez and his wife stood these bunches of straw upright by squashing the roots in front of the place from where they presided over the ceremony (Pl. XIII, A /see p. 134/).

The new arrivals brought other sheaves of straw with them as gifts, some of which, tied with festive slings, were in addition decorated with garlands made of ring-shaped bread (pil'u), a shape which I saw among the Čipaya only during festivals. In the sheaf delivered by the alcalde his stick of authority was planted. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

/356 cont./

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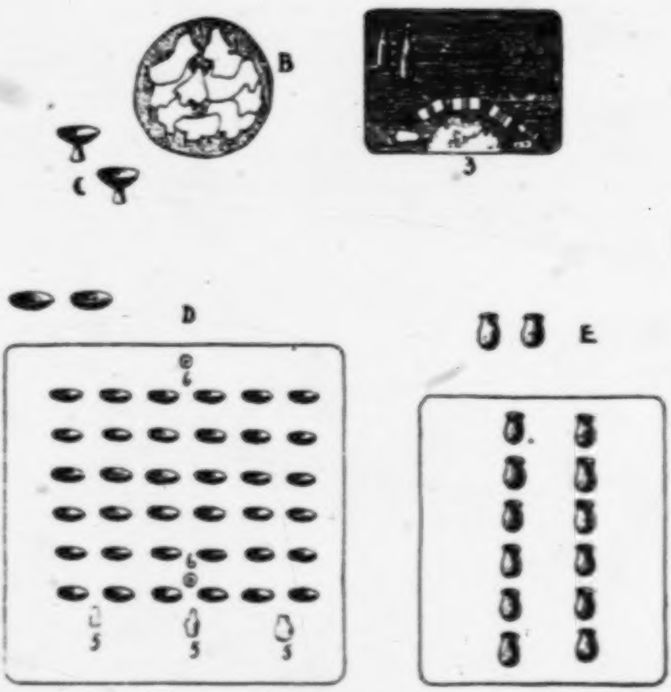

Fig. 35. — Respective arrangement of the various accessories at the time of the Č'al'a (Festival of the samiri).

A. Cellar containing the samiri. 1:Bottles full of alcohol; 2: bags with various magical materials; 3: the samiri covered with wool; 4: bunches of flowers.

B. Bowl containing the samiri (calcareous stones) and blood.

C. Censers.

D. The cupules laid out on a cloth. 5: small baked clay bottles; 6: two coins.

E. Phials containing a special mixture differing from that of the cupules.

/357 cont./

*778 *796 824 alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35, A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (kˣoka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks. *778 *796 On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly [539] [231] accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Hača	pakˣal'a	samiri	kulumayo	pakˣal'a	samiri	kon
Large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pakˣal'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

/358 cont./

*778 *796 [296] Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible. At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [264] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

[539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[296] [533] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. *778 *796 539 He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Hača-pakˇal'a-samiri	samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)	thou wilt stay

kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	čital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep

samanta	hani-hewtiri	patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die	hundred thousand (years?)

/359 cont./

*778 *796 539

samanta	taki pilu	samanta.	Mal'ku,	pokara
thou wilt rest	all wool	thou wilt rest.	Demon,	demon

Korisančuri-mal'ku	hiča	kumplusmawa.
Korisancuri-demon	now	I have acquitted myself.

Kimsa	pakˣ̌al'a	loktitánta	kasisposa
Three kinds of livestock		thou wilt give me	married people

saluro	maitanta.	Pasiensia-amta,	pasiensia
health	thou wilt give me.	Patience thought,	patience

rixta	suma	čuyma	suma	korasón,	suma
righteous	good	heart	good	heart,	good

loktitanta	todos	mal'kunaka	suma	amta
thou wilt give me	all	the demons	good	thoughts

(čura)nipxitata (?)	todos	santos y santas	kurixo
you will give me (?)	all	male and female saints	always

mantamiento	loktital'a.	(i)yawsital'a,	huma	araxpača,
nourishment	give.	Accept me,	thou	sky

wirxin-taika	(i)yawsital'a	palxayatalaiku,
Virgin-earth	concede it to me	by that which has been said,

(i)yawsital'a	ma	pori	wawa	laikusa.	(i)yawsital'a
concede it to me	a	poor	child	for that.	Accept me

ma	wawa-wakča	wawa-matulaiku.	(i)yawsital'a
an	orphan	child son for.	Give it to me

/359 cont./

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San Sebastian	alto	kalo	yatunka	parwal'a	bbrrrrr
St. Sebastian	high	generous	nine	grasses	bbrrrrr

patakawaranka	surti	mal'ku	surti	tal'a
hundred thousand	fortunes	demon	fortune	female demon

todas	kumpañas	saluru	bbrrr	hayankiri
all	the gatherings	health	bbrr	those who are far,

hakankíri	todös	saludos,	taki	kumpaña
those who are near	all	safety.	all	the gathering

pakˣal'a	saluru	surti	mal'ku,	mal'ku	surti.
flock	health	good fortune	demon,	demon	luck.

tal'a	saluru	brrr.
female demon	health	brrr.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llama), thou wilt stay here, samiri of the pigs, thou wilt stay here, samiri of the sheep, thou wilt stay here so as not to die. Thou wilt stay here a hundred times a thousand (years). Thou wilt stay here covered with wool. You will stay here, you, demon, you pokara, Korisančuri-demon; now I have acquitted myself with these three head of livestock, thou wilt give health to married people, thou wilt give me a patient mind, a righteous mind, a good heart, thou wilt give it to me. You, all the demons, give me good thoughts. Male and female saints, give me always something to eat. Show favor to me, thou, sky, Virgin-earth, be favorable to me for that which has been said, for that be favorable to me. I am a poor child, /360/ be favorable to me, I am an orphan, I am thy son, for that be favorable to me, Saint Sebastian, high, generous, give us nine grasses brrr, 100,000 fortunes, demon, female demon, give health to all the gathering,

/360 cont./

*778 to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all,
*796 to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon,
539 female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwal'a, kolča-parwal'a, lumča-parwal'a, čunka-parwal'a, skawri-parwal'a, kapara-parwal'a, uško-parwal'a, awa-parwal'a, waila-parwal'a, tola-parwal'a, wiču-parwal'a, kora-parwal'a, l'apa-parwal'a, kaču-parwal'a."

*778
*796 These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "Wefá, bindišiuna, hača pakxal'a, bindišiuna, kulumayo, bindišiuna, čital'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

[533] The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

/360 cont./

*778 The orchestra, composed of two quenas players, two tarca
*796
533 (flutes with mouthpieces) players, and one drummer, played the
539 airs reproduced on the opposite page /see p. 85/ at various times.

*778 Shortly afterward the musicians got up to perform a dance,
*796 in which the alferez, his wife, and several others took part. Facing
535 each other, they began by forming a circle around a glass of water put down by the Officiant. Immobile at first for a certain number of measures, they soon began to walk sideways in a circle in one direction, and then, /361/ at a sign from one of them, in the other direction. The dance ended as usual at the order of one of the players, who made a piercing sound with his instrument by stopping up all the holes at once. Soon all the musicians played the same note and the dance stopped. At other moments the tarka players formed in a row and advanced, made a half turn, and retraced their steps and performed evolutions by making volts around the circle of spectators. They carried out a series of directional changes from time to time with military precision. /Musical notation appears here./

The drum players did not respect the grouping followed by the flutists but revolved at the same time as the other musicians, i.e., when the latter had formed a circle, the drum players turned around them, and when the first outlined their one-step on the side, they turned in the direction indicated to the dance step. When the flutists were performing evolutions in a line, while changing direction, no precise placed seemed to be assigned to the drummer.

The dance step is a trotting walk on tiptoe allowing volts, the repetition of which is entirely left up to the dancer's initiative. These volts seem to be carried out successively in one direction and then in the other, after intervals of walking. The music, whose rhythm is difficult to make out, seems to constitute only an inducement to dance. In the course of the dance the dancers make gestures with their arms, which they hold apart from the body horizontally in order to bring them into a vertical position.

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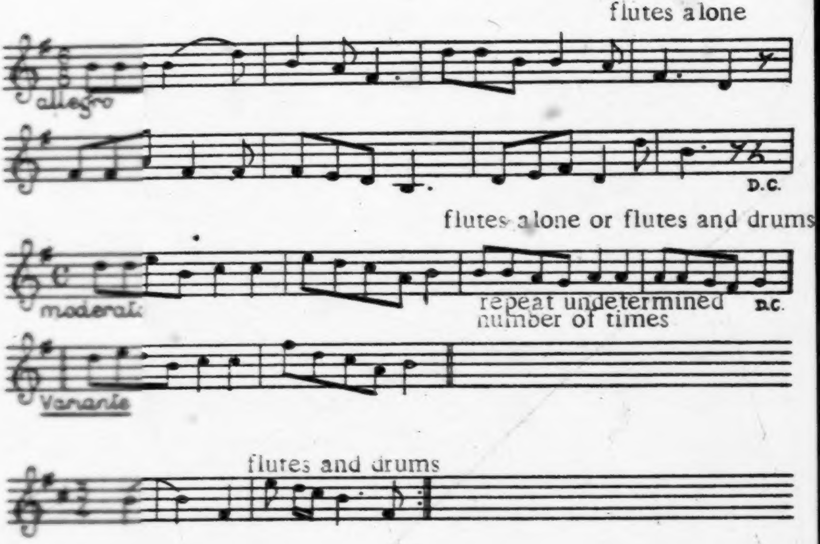

flutes alone
allegro
D.C.
flutes alone or flutes and drums
moderato
repeat undetermined number of times
D.C.
Variante
flutes and drums

*778 *796 [535] Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of ofice, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

[276] [273] [596] The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the fom of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civilty consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Halleluah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

/362 cont./
*778 repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was
*796 raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his
[574] drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed
to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath
a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard,
a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any
[273] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the
[157] Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*778 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patient-
*796 ly waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of
262 the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper,
574 placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was
poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*778 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a
*796 prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer
is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

[539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more
to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

/362 cont./

*778 *796 [539]

Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktakiǰa.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

[616] On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

*778 *796 574 [616] Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

[554] *778 *796 574 262 The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

/363 cont./

*778 *796 514 [362] this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of čuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a [239] [824] group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

[554] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

*778 *779 [773] /364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

*778 *796 539

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

mátka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

---

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/364 cont./

*778
*796
539

xal'al'a	L'auca,	wasi	čoksã,	awiatori,	maitiñi,
hallelujah	Lauca,	?	?	shepherd,	he who grants,

Saxama	mal'ku,	čep-pak^{x}al'a,	awianta,
Sajama	demon,	three kinds of livestock,	make graze,

Sikwanku (2),	Pačata (3),	Turi-mal'ku,	tʿapa	pokara,
Little bench,	Pachata (3)	Tower-demon,	all	demons,

[103]

2. Sikwanku: "chico banco" "little bench." Name of a mountain which is visible from Chipaya.

3. Summits visible from Chipaya.

L'auka-mal'ku,	Maria	tokatoka	Mama	sapo,	Tata-sapo,
Lauca-demon,	Mary	toad	mama	toad,	father toad,

uruisxapa,	Sinata,	Pumari (3)	/see above/	mara
to create for,	?	Pumari		year

aka	pača	arax-pača,	mamita	Santa-Ana,	Samiri.
this	time	sky,	mama	Saint Anne,	Samiri.

"Demon Kant, demon Kusil'er, demon Kilimint, Kusil'aviri, let graze, mountains of the country, demon Kemperan, demon Stephen, hallelujah, Lauca river, ??, thou who makest graze, thou who grantest, demon Sajama, we the three kinds of livestock of our herds, Mount Sikwanku, Mount Pachata, Demon Tower, divine Lauca, Mary toad, mama toad, father toad, create for us, Sinata, Pumari, grant us a new year like this one, you, sky, Mama Saint Anne, Samiri."

/364 cont./

*778 *796 They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

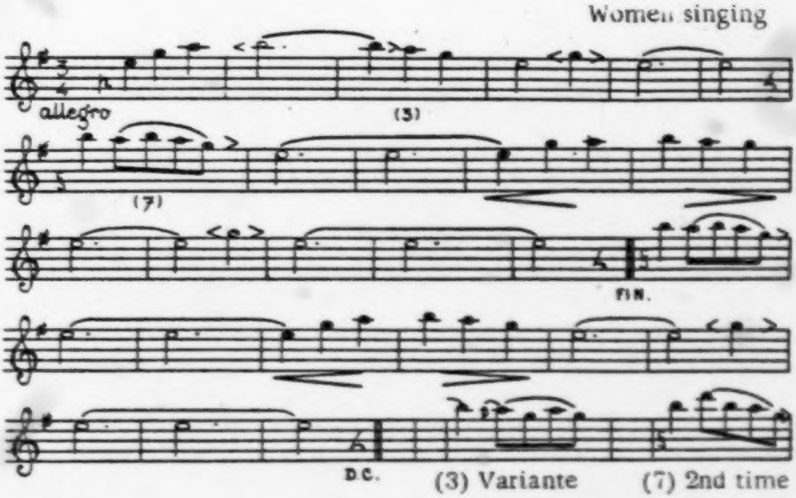
*778 *796 533 /365/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompanists. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, [231] according to the musicians, it could be dedicated to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

2:Métraux--91 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas --
Chipaya

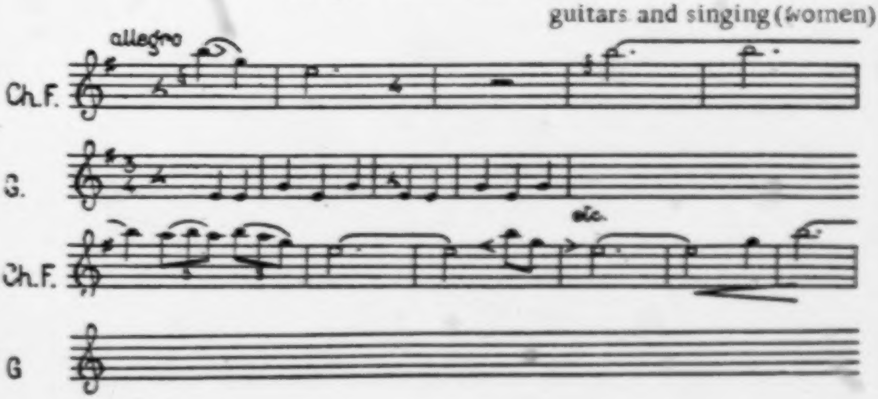
/365 cont./

Song of the Pigs

*778
*796
533

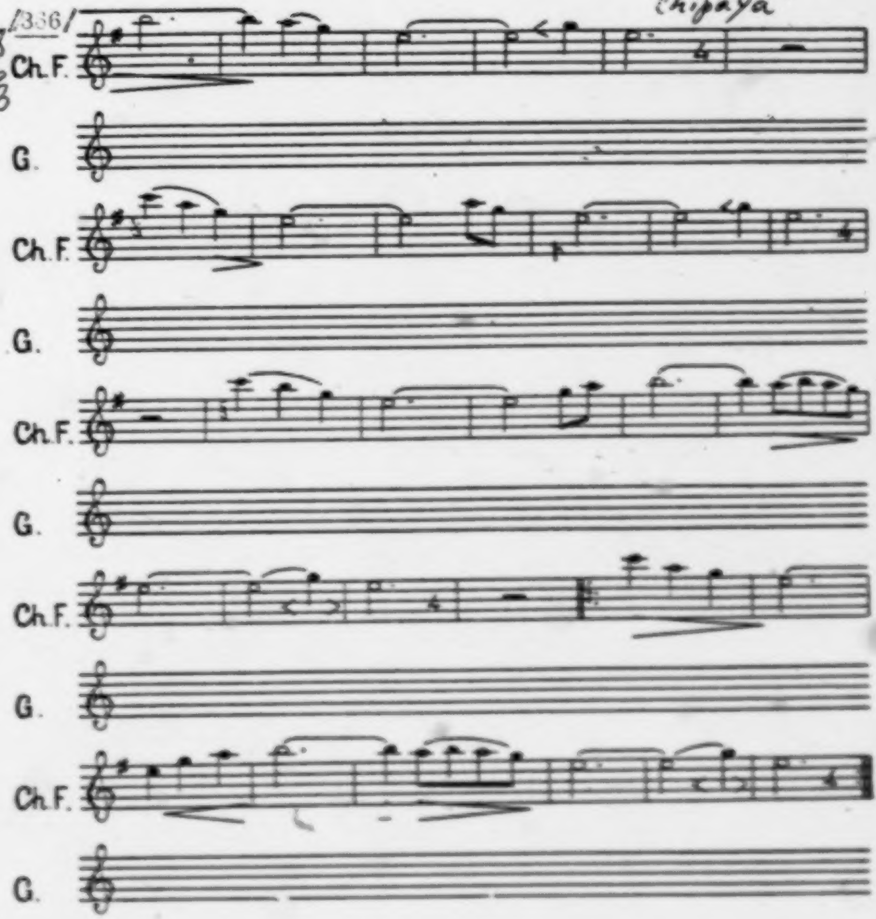

Women singing
allegro
(3)
(7)
FIN.
D.C.
(3) Variante
(7) 2nd time

Song of the Female Llama


guitars and singing(women)
allegro
Ch.F.
G.
etc.
Ch.F.
G

2:Métraux--92 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—Chipaya

*778
*796
533
/336/



*796 Festival of the Saya Taxata (February 2, day of Candlemas).

[616] This festival was celebrated only by the saya taxata. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the alferez, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the saya took part.

[534] After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

/366 cont./

* 796 [562] [887] [732] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [273] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

/367 cont./

796 invocations to the mal'ku, the saints, and the samiri, the professional rezadores /"prayers"/ were notable for their assurance and their volubility. The alfereza and her infirm son busied themselves with seeing that no one was overlooked in the distribution of coca and alcohol. The wooden bowls were refilled and proffered to the alcaldes, who shortly afterward were fumigated by a woman. The latter repeated the same ceremony in front of the alfereza. During the entire time that she, kneeling, burned her incense, those who were the objects of this rite uncovered themselves with a meditative air.

796 535 A dance, which I only saw on this one occasion (Pl. XIV, A /see p. 135/), was organized next. The women placed themselves in a row facing their husbands. Taking each other by both hands, all began to pivot without changing place. Men and women turned their upper torsos in an opposite direction each time. During this time the musicians walked around /368/ the line, playing in a very slow rhythm. Toward the end some dancers made a demi-volta and with back turned put the hand to the mouth. One of the dancers had put a dead young llama on his back, which he passed to his neighbor.

Toward the end of the day the alfereza and her son, with white banners knotted around their necks, took other participants by the hand and formed a circle inside the circle of musicians. After having turned around for a few seconds, the circle opened up and made itself into a chain which ran to one side, then to the other, and then reformed into a circle. One of the figures of this dance consisted in making a quarter-turn and bringing the hand to the mouth.

796 Toward the end of the ceremony the alfereza and her son, accompanied by numerous other participants, surrounded the banner and prayed before it for a long time, while offering up libations; then some kissed the post, others the banner.

/368 cont./

#796 A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

533 808 The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alfereza, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. [778] As usual the Officiant had planted a sacred stick (kaman-para) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alfereza and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The alfereza had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

#796 437 The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

/369 cont./

*796 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds,
437 many of which were perforated and tied together with a string
(Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so
many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a
[231] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have
a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

*778 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Čunkirini mal'ku
*796 (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above: The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see
p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the wor-
ship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep
killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours
[782] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before
the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this
sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[532] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations
for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making
little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and
white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to
which is added silver leaf and parrot plumules.

/369 cont./

*778 *796 [252] which he added silver leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's [273] feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /370/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

*778 *796 533 During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. *778 *796 [792] In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

/370 cont./

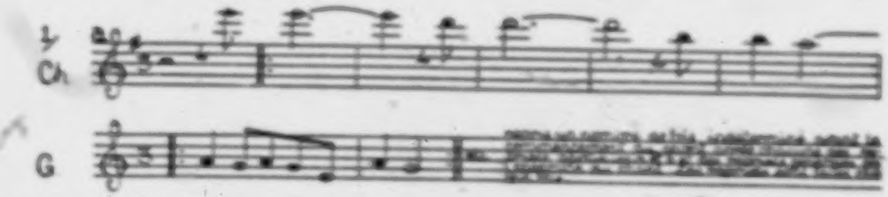
*998
*996
53

Translation of notes in the transcription of the first melody below are: Second staff of melody, marked G., i.e. guitars: "Repeat an indefinite number of times before the start of the singing after each of the partial refrains 1a and b and the general refrain of the whole song. The repeats are done each time."

Sixth staff "same accompaniment of guitars."

Ch. (chant, "singing") marks the bars that are sung.

Singing (young girls)
with guitar
accompaniment



2:Métraux--99 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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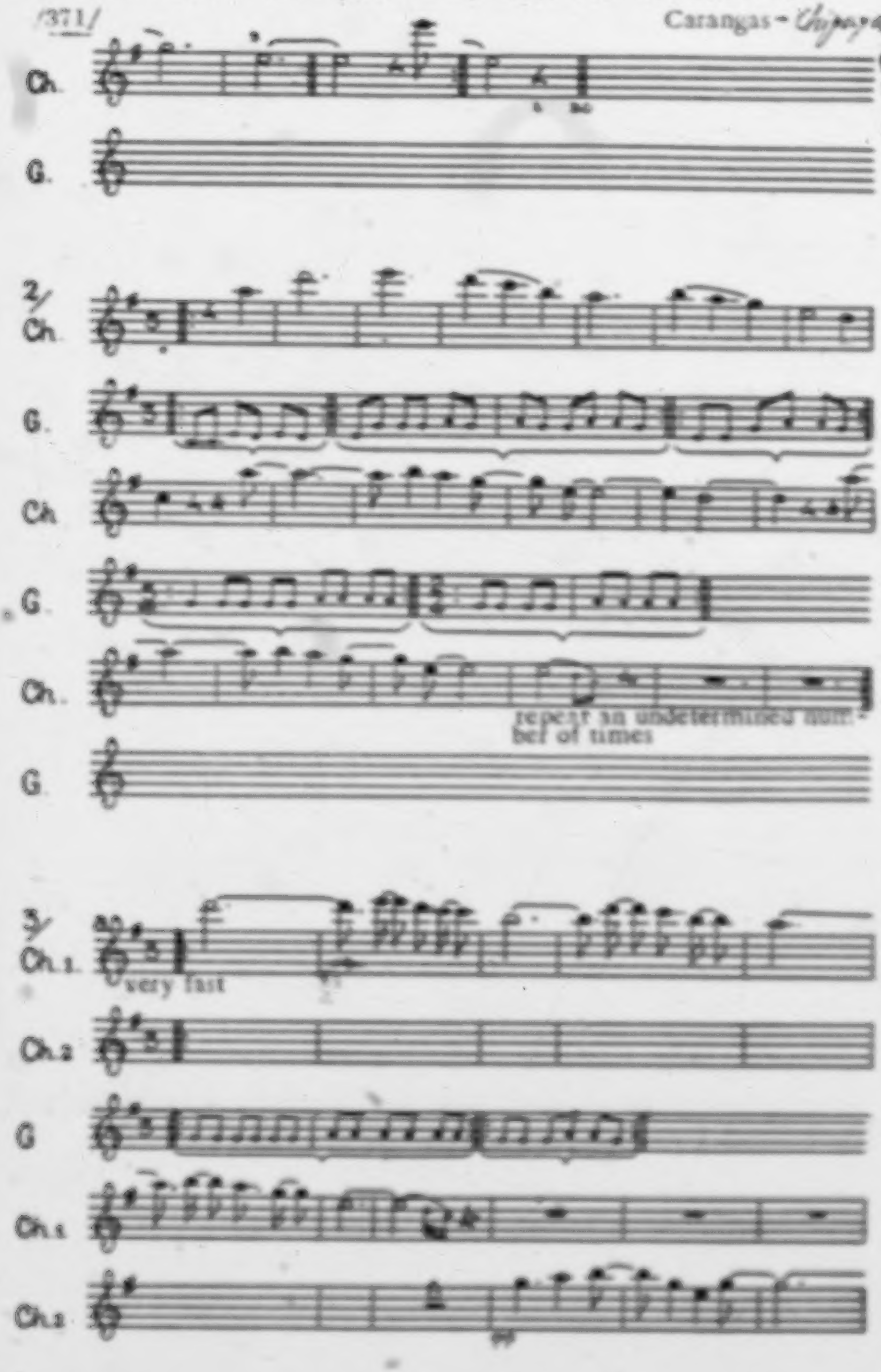
Carangas - Chipaya

776*
778*
533

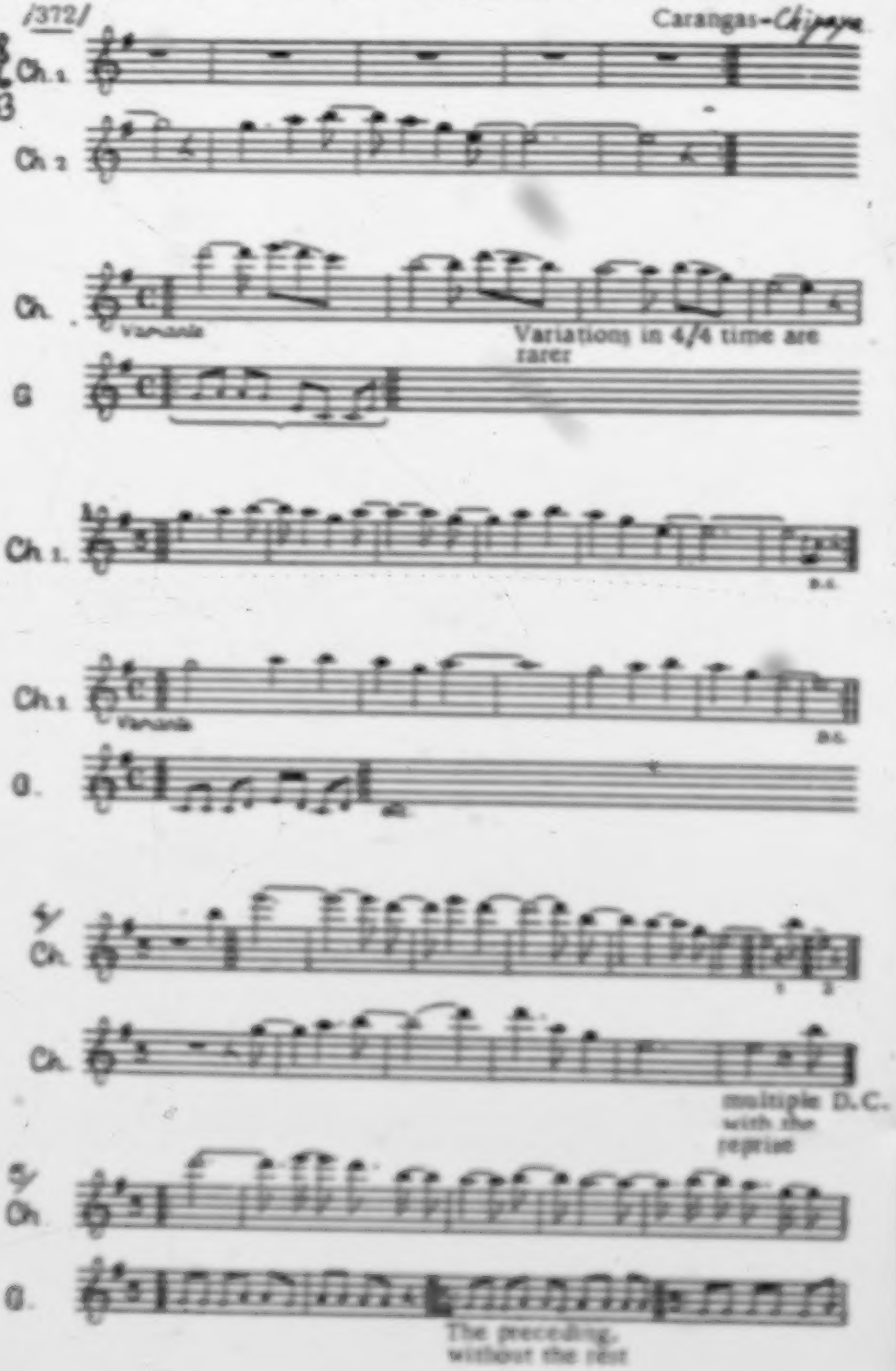

Ch.
G.
2/
Ch
G.
Ch
G.
Ch.
repeat an undetermined num-
ber of times
G.
3/
Ch.1
very fast
Ch.2
G
Ch.1
Ch.2

2:Métraux--100 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SE24 Uru SF24

/372/

Carangas-Chipaya

*1778
*1746
533


Ch. 1
Ch. 2
Ch.
Variante
G
Ch. 1.
D.C.
Ch. 1
Variante
D.C.
G.
4/
Ch.
1
2
Ch.
4/
Ch
G.

Variations in 4/4 time are rarer

multiple D.C. with the reprise

The preceding, without the rest

2 Métraux--101 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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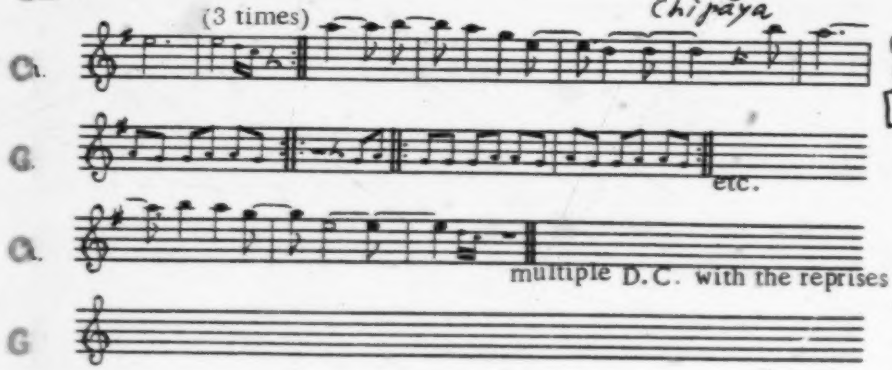
Carangas - Chipaya

778*
796*
[533]



On the following day all set out early in order to reach the Estewan-mal'ku situated 15 kilometers southeast of the village in the middle of a plain submerged by several days' rain. The flooded expanses were so vast that in mid-course the alferez, in agreement with the Officiant, decided to perform the festival in honor of the Estewan-mal'ku near the Čunkirini-mal'ku. The rites would be the same but no offering would be made to the Čunkirini-mal'ku, and delegates would be sent to the Estewan-mal'ku, among them the fanatic, Espiritu Mamani, to bring it the intestines of the victims, the fetuses, the necklaces of bread and of cheese, coca, llicta, and sugar. So that there would be no doubt as to who was the object of the festival, the Officiant and the participants always took great care during the rites which they performed to turn in the direction of the Estewan-mal'ku, i.e., toward the southeast. Thus upon their arrival at the mal'ku's mound, for example, all knelt down, first toward the southeast, then toward the east, and finally in front of the cone representing the mal'ku. Likewise the Officiant, before offering up his libations thrust his sacred stick into the ground facing the same cardinal point. The blood of the victims was, nevertheless, poured upon the Čunkirini-mal'ku, which was fumigated by all new arrivals (1).

1. When one arrives in front of the cone, one must kneel before it or touch it with one's hand and then kiss the latter.

/373 cont./

*778 *776 539 The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuǰa
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit	esposa	salut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses		heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpaña
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuǰa	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

*778 *776 [824] [827] Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

[823] [533] I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alfereza both had a truss of straw on the back.

/374 cont./

*778 *796 [793] The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their [816] lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The ab- *778 *796 539 sence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku	lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon	border

towantišta	/375/	taxatišta	maitiñi	hasiki
east of		west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuǰa	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

/375 cont./

*778
*796
539

kumpaña	kumpañ-išṫan	čep	pak^{x}al-laiku
accompany	company with	three	heads of livestock in order to

kumplatuǰa	pak^{x}al'a	hasiki
they acquit themselves	head of livestock	at this moment

maitišinakiǰa	para simpre	kumplitisxapa.
grant us	forever	to be acquitted.

"Demon Kemperani, thou who lookest at the two clans which are behind thee. Today the two clans have come to be acquitted before thee, that of the east and that of the west. All of these accompany me, they come in this moment to acquit themselves on behalf of the three kinds of animals. Grant us in this moment flocks, so that we may always acquit ourselves before thee."

*778 *796 The Čunkirini-mal'ku is the last of the cones of earth for which a festival is performed during the year by the saya tuanta. Also this festival is clothed with a brilliance and solemnity which make it the most perfect expression of the ceremonies and pagan rites preserved by the Čipaya. The alferez of the preceding festivals come to it, carrying their straw trusses hung with garlands on their backs, and they set up small improvised altars all around the Čunkirini-mal'ku as if they were going to exercise their former role. The cone of earth is covered with garlands of fruit, bread rings, cheeses, and emerges red with blood above the bunches of straw and the groups of Indians squatting around it. The numerous prayers which are uttered on this day are pleas for the assistance and generosity of the demons and saints of the tribe. The

*778 *796 539 Čunkirini-mal'ku whose "anniversary" is being celebrated, is naturally the most often invoked. It is implored in the following terms:

Čunkirini-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpli
Cunkirini-demon	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

/375 cont./

*778
*776
539

tonuǰa	pakˣxal'aištan	kumplataǰa	tonx-tuñi
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today

čep	pakˣxal'a	palatansuǰa	ana	inahapa
three	heads of livestock	are planted	not	in vain

Tatal	Mamal	sirwisxapa	hasiki	maitišiñakiǰa
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me

tʼapa	kumpañštan.
all	assembly with.

"Demon Čunkirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /376/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

*778
*792
In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar housed at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature *mal'ku* is the protector of children, for the *corregidor* of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimento-mal'ku and to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. The *yatiri* Anacleto Mulis dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the *Kilimento-mal'ku* and the other to the *Kosil'awari-mal'ku*. These two cones of earth stand on *taxata* territory, and their worship is reserved for this *saya*. I was not able to attend the [KK]

/376 cont./

ceremonies of which they were the object, for they were performed at the same time as those in which I took part at tuanta in honor of the mal'ku of nat saya. It is highly unlikely that the rites in the two sectors differ; in any case, the prayers, judging from those which I am giving here, are of the same type:

Kilimento-mal'ku,	hasiki	am	kumpli
Kilimento-demon,	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

tonuǰa	ti	čep	pakˣal'ištan	palantasuǰa
I have come	these	three	head of livestock	are placed

pakˣal'-laiku	ti	kasat-ispo-laiku	ana	ina-hapa-ki
herds for	these	married spouses for	not	in vain

Tatal	Mamal,	serwishapa	tʻapa	kumpaña.
Father	Mother,	to serve for	all	assembly.

"Demon Kilimento, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with thee three animals who are placed in front of thee, on behalf of the herds and the married people. That this be not in vain, Father, Mother, that all those who accompany me (are come) to serve thee."

Kosil'awari-ma'ku,	tal'a	hasiki	am
Kosil'awari-demon	female-demon	in this moment	thee

kumpli	tonuǰa	tun-čis	samča	tonxiki
to acquit myself	I have come	today	anniversary	today

čep	pakˣal'ištan	tonuǰa	pakˣal'laiku
three	head of livestock with	I have come	herds on behalf

salut-laiku	tʻapa	kumpaña	kumpltuǰa	tonx-tuñi.
health for	all	the assembly	acquits itself	today.

/377/

*778 "Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I
*796 have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day,
539 the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly
to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

[782] In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awiaturu	awitiškal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakˣal'a	awitiška	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiška.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed. Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

*796
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Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya taxata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their huts. [532] This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

/377 cont./

*796 221 273 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 782 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [785] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796 273] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which *had been so much extolled was alone powerful enough to keep me* in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [439] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on p. 110]

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Carangas -

Chipaya

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[825]

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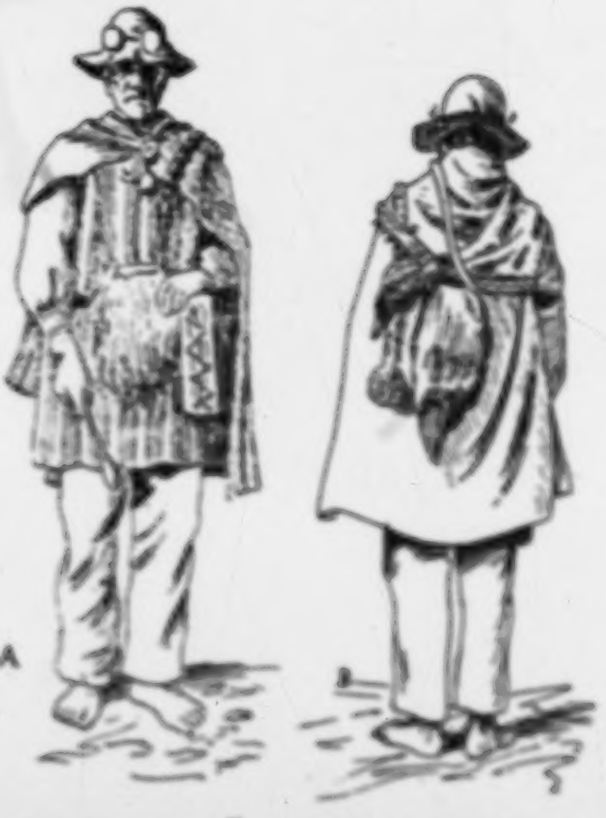


Fig. 26. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bolo perdido.

[824]

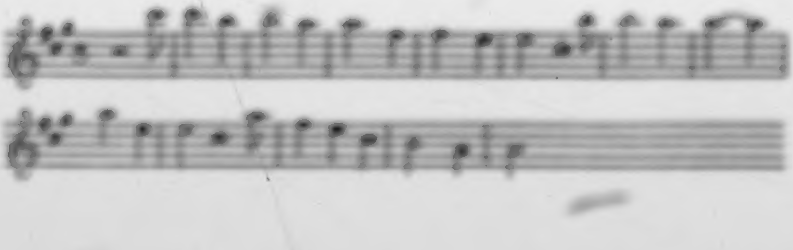
[483]

/379 cont./

530 291 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 136 /). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). [293] A large part of the young people had water birds on their backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). [554] The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had pressed at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

530 533

Tunes of the Carnival Dances



/580/ Carangas-Chipaya

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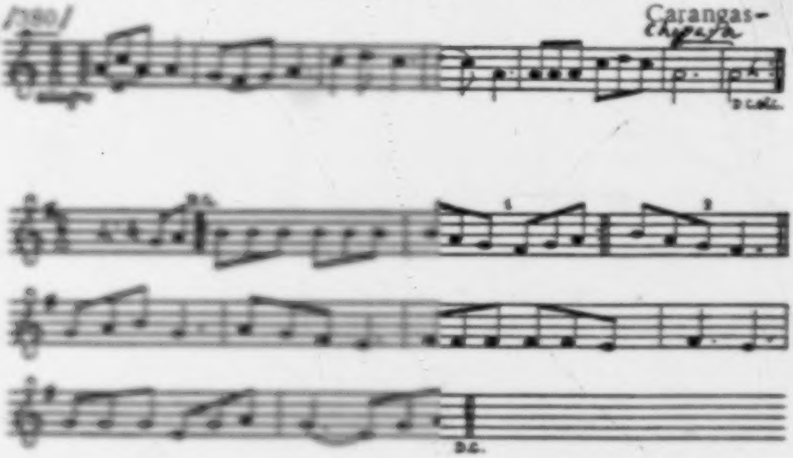

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914 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 82). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

529 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

529 The festivities proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

527 [578] 835 [771] /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and [778] were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 784 776 539 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	čmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	čmaitiñiña	t'apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. [782] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

/381 cont./

529 [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [776] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Cipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol [274] from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming *[778] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 *778 [772] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/382 cont./

592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*178 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to
the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at
the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which oc-
179 cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[902] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of
the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it
was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the
costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and
to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
183 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
597 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the
kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

ʌʔoʌʔai'a	kʌoya	kamantaika	suma	haša	wata
straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1)	kʌoya-ki.
endure	house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, to endure.

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mix-
ture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the
Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*776 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[22] number of titi-mal'ku in Čipaya is limited, I would not have

/383 cont./

been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let [534] fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku patio	titi-mal'ku	suma	katusimal'a
Spirit (of the) patio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive sling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances such as [illegible] calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate,/ but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could not

/383 cont./
doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Titi-mal'ku	suma	resiba-tamal'a	hiča	xunlu
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	together

vila	amora.
blood	love.

/384/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this blood which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "xal'al'a" (hallelujah).

In each Čipaya hut without exception one notices several poles of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Čipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-para (house stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-para, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a [illegible] it is on this occasion when a sheep is killed for the demon of the patio that the long prayer is recited which a Čipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on such family worship:

Takpača	(wawanataki)	xukalañaka	k'oka	hača
All	child for	plant	cactus	large

/384 cont./

*778
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pakˣal'a	kulumayu	pakˣal'a	kon	usita	pakˣal'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

hača	pakˣal'a	maitarapita	kamana	katoktarapita
large	herd	let me have	house	thou wilt receive

akel	mal'ku	mama	mal'ku	pati-sitio	kimsa
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	three

pakˣal'a	nasimiento	humakatoktanta.
herds	births	thou wilt receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plants (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas), let me have it, thou shed (where the mal'ku stays), thou kitchen of the house. Thou wilt receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demon of the court)."

782 One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mullu, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yatiri. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the protecting spirit /385/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wing:

[539]

Verxina	čal'ánta	uyuwiri	Araxpača
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	foster mother	Sky

/385 cont./

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539

karpa	marka	kol'u	uyuwiri	Virxina	Mamita		
rain	country	mountains	foster mother	Virgin	Mama		
Rosario.	palta	šenekina	benitnis	-te	k'anasa	kanavita.	
Rosary.	speak	us	bless		light	?	

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation, (give us) the rain of the Sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

782 In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Čipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [177] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

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*796

The Samiri of the sheepfold.

In the company of Anacleto Mullu I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [782] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/385 cont./
*778 *796 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown in the hole.

[791] [796] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet them according to all the rules of Čipaya etiquette. The master of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for [197] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable products with magical qualities which the Čipaya customarily
*778 *796 791 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

*778 *796 791 822 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown. These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

/386 cont./

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[722] vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the thal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

231
[illegible] Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/387 cont./

[illegible] alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

[illegible] Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mallo. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short concentration he took hold of a handful of leaves which he tossed with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

/388 cont./

787
276 The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[a] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

278 The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. [155] To tell the truth, many of the treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

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[113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

[a] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

/389 cont./

278 [177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because [759] of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

K.A 759 143 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a [578] piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [592] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

759 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/389 cont./

997 treatment was conditioned by the nature of the disease, or if, on the contrary, similar cures are undertaken each time that an Indian becomes seriously ill.

955
[133] A habitual drunkard, of a quarrelsome and violent temperament, had been taken ill after one of the numerous festivals which the Čipaya celebrate during the rainy season, where he had drunk and excited himself more than usual. /390/ Was he suffering from terrible indigestion? Did he have an attack of epilepsy? I do not know, but the fact is that he suddenly fell to the ground where he remained for a long time in a cataleptic state. The terrified spectators thought that he was dead and were not far from intoning funeral lamentations. He himself, when he regained his senses, judged his state to be desperate. He claimed that a large ball was moving up and down in his stomach without stopping.
965
456 His case was given to an Indian who had nothing to show that he was a doctor or magician. He was a young man who had no particular authority and filled no office at the festivals. Besides he made only rare appearances in the village. Consulted at once, he began by conducting an inquiry on the origins of the illness, giving an attentive ear to the narratives and hypotheses of his client's relatives and friends. It was only then, with complete knowledge of the cause, that he uttered his final diagnosis: two superb topu (silver pins with flattened heads) which had been transmitted from generation to generation in the patient's family were the sole things responsible for the accident. By virtue of a malicious power inherent in their nature, they had pierced the stomach of their owner, trying to kill him. They had been assisted in this crime by a silver Peruvian coin worth a quarter of a real, which [84] the sick man had also inherited from his father. No one could doubt that these precious topu were dangerous: the best proof of the terrible influence which emanated from them was the sickness and death of the patient's mother, which public opinion attributed to these ornaments. The magician's first duty hence was to exorcise them and to neutralize their action by putting them in contact with beneficent magical substances.

/*390 cont.*/

955 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his
956 head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I
[781] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the *tupu* and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (*seharios*), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the *seharios* and a little sacred maize flour (*[illegible]*).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When
[782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /*391*/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the *samiri*. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the *tupu* and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (*[illegible]*) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the *samiri*'s, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his mass of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (*seharios*) in

[281 cont.]

755 [illegible] small paper bags and added rosemary, starch, and candy to them. He then grouped these bags in threes and made small packets of them which he tied with a red string. At the same time he had one of the patient's relatives make four small "tables" of fat, two of which he covered with paper, and the other two with gold leaf. In the course of preparation these objects were watered several times by the spectators, who poured libations of alcohol over them. They were given to the sick man with the express command to keep them in a hiding-place next to the [illegible] for one year. The magician advised his client that during all this period he would have no misfortune to fear and that his disposition would become better: his quarrelsome temperament would give way to gentleness and peace would reign in his household. For, he added, the thrashings which he was accustomed to inflict on his wife and the uproar resulting from them were also manifestations of the evil power of the [illegible]'s. Two small flasks were next filled, one with alcohol and the other with wine, and placed with the small bags. The magician made one last libation on them and spit on top of them. The objects thus consecrated were placed in a bag with some [illegible] and some coins and the whole thing slid into a hiding-place concealed in the wall of the hut.

[787] The sick man began a prolonged exposition in a tearful tone of all the details of his sickness, while the magician was consulting coca leaves in order to know the result of his treatment. He mixed the leaves and tossed them in his hand ten or 15 times, and each time [282] they pointed to a prompt and complete cure. A bit of copal was placed in drinking cups of alcohol, which the sick man, the magician, and the relatives poured as an offering on the malevolent [illegible]'s. Whereupon the patient, his wife, and his sister burst into loud sobs which lasted several minutes. The first then kissed his wife's hand and congratulated the magician, making the gesture of clasping him in his arms, and all those present came to congratulate him as well as his wife and the magician.

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/592 cont./

These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his deportment. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

7

2:Métraux--128   E-5 (1930-1931) 1935,1936   SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/393/

764
[152] The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an *urku* (1), and only the face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to hold [128] a wake. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from bitterness against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse an iron spike had been planted and a small tallow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, smoked and drank with complete [156] serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of *eau-de-vie* from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction. "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me; when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pots and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

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1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

/383 cont./

764 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Čipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[192] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
765 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of *quinoa* pulp on the fire.
[71] Among the Čipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[192] him busy preparing his dinner. On /384/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

781 The stay that I made among the Čipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agglutinating language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[71] this task was not always easy for me. The Čipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the *corregidor* and two or three young people, do not know a word
[24] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

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the use /
directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Chipaya. They offer a dual resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Freezing in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of [illegible] (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Chipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 25 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, martial manners, and a high [illegible] opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Indian myths which have fallen to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

[385 cont.]

those that they must be considered as belonging to the Chipaya, and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must be added that outside their language the Chipaya do not possess any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

These texts, the first to have been collected in the Chipaya dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the vocabulary phrases which will be published at the same time in my Uru-Chipaya dictionary. [The myths and texts, pp. 385-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text.]

[illegible] E-1 ([illegible]) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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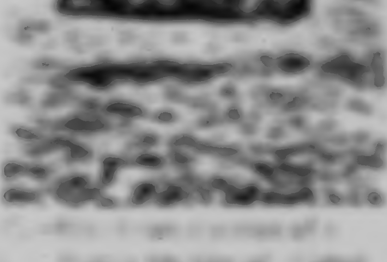
Chipaya

Plate [illegible]

A. — [illegible] kneeling before a [illegible].

B. — [illegible] slaughter of a sheep.



C. — [illegible] of a [illegible] and offering of [illegible].

D. — [illegible] slaughter of a llama.

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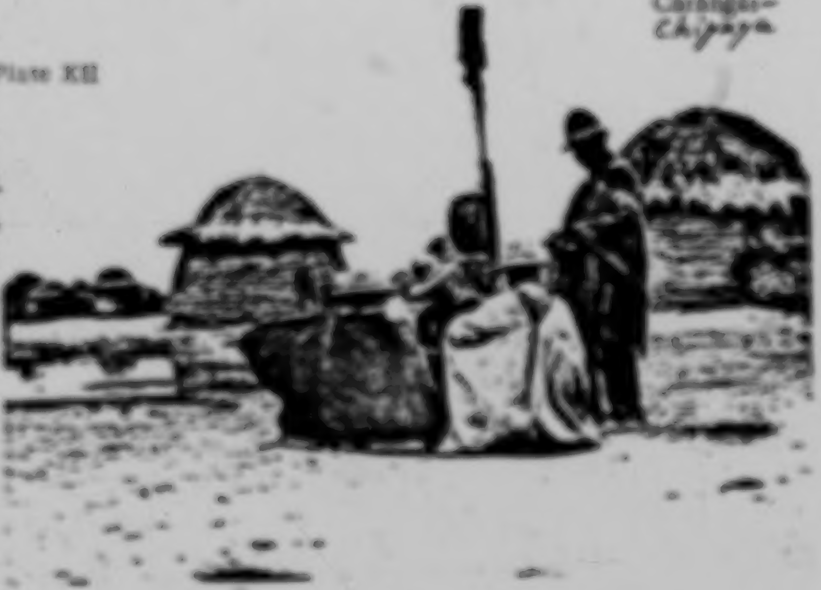
Chipaya

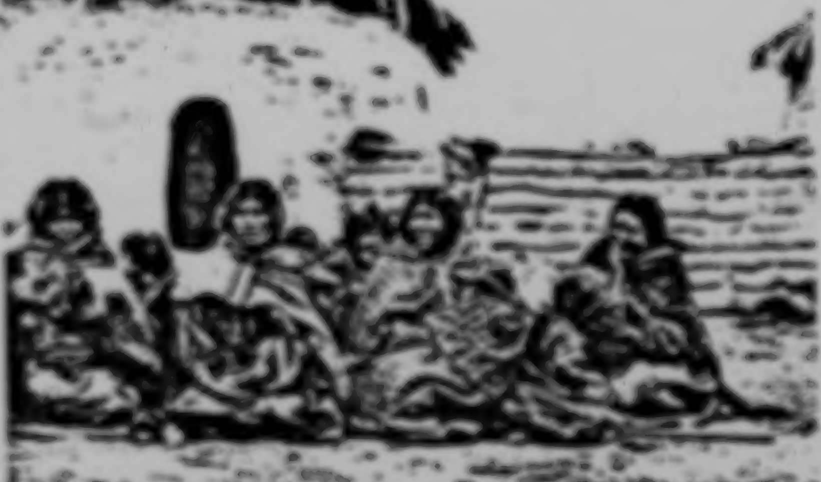
Plate XII

*796
291
302
516
554



A. —Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

162
291
302
292
351
516



B. —Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

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Chipaya

Plate XIII

A. —Festival of the [illegible]: the alferez and alfereza behind the carved crosses.

B. —Festival of [illegible] mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the [illegible] mal'ku.

[761]

C. —Festival of [illegible] mal'ku magician with his assistant preparing the Č'al'a (libation and offering) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. —Festival of [illegible] mal'ku the kneeling magician receives dough from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

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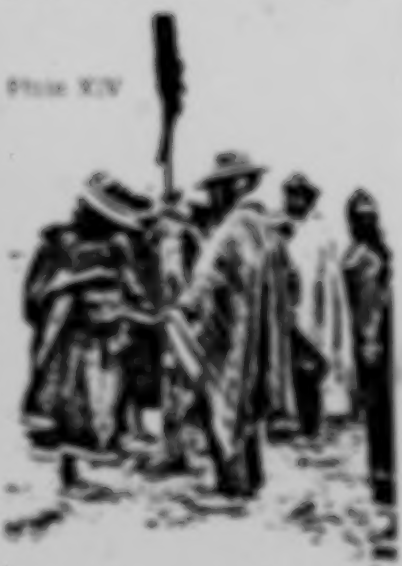
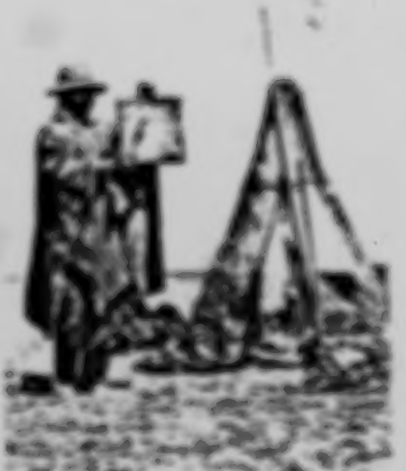
Chipaya

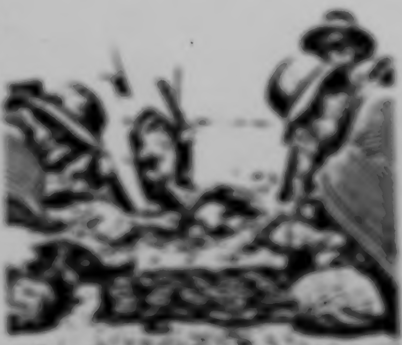
Plate XIV



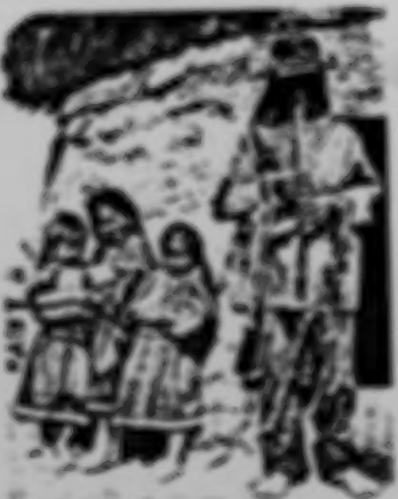
A. —Festival of the Carnival, February 2. Dance around a banner.



B. —Festival of the [illegible] Indian bearing a drum near the effigy of a demon [illegible].



C. —Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.



D. —Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, feather slings, etc.).

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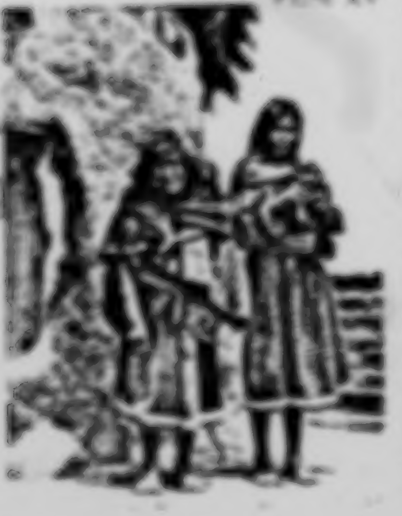
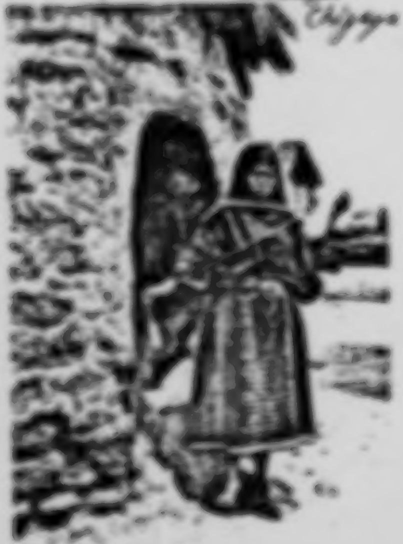
Chipaya

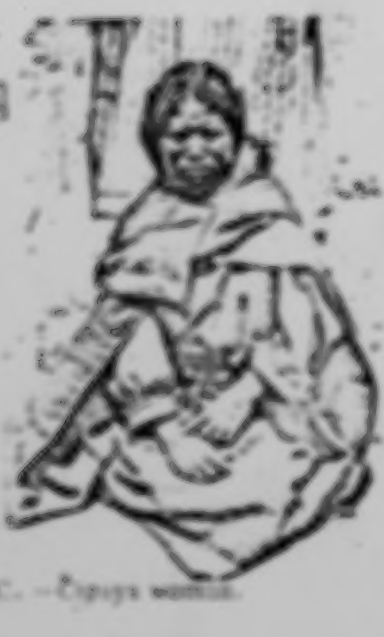
Plate XV



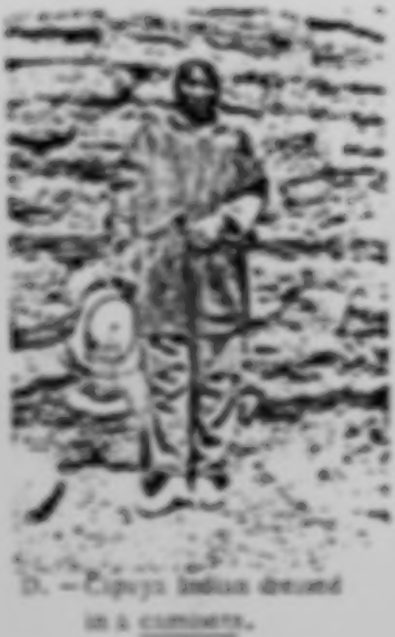
A. —Old Čipaya woman and her daughter.



B. —Čipaya woman spinning.



C. —Čipaya woman.



D. —Čipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

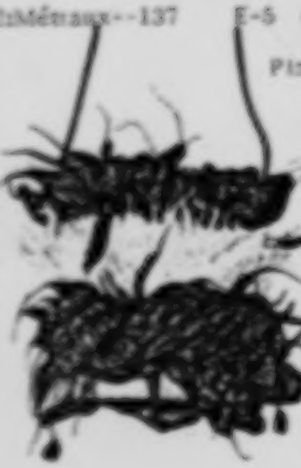
2:Métraux--137 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-Chipaya

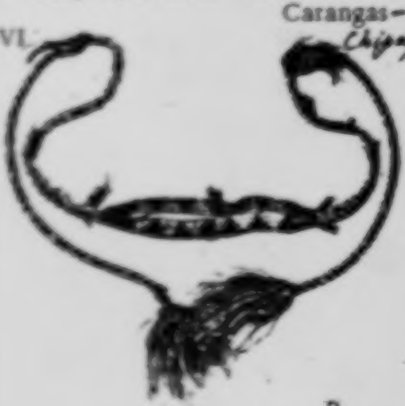
Plate XVI.

415 ←

293
413 →



A



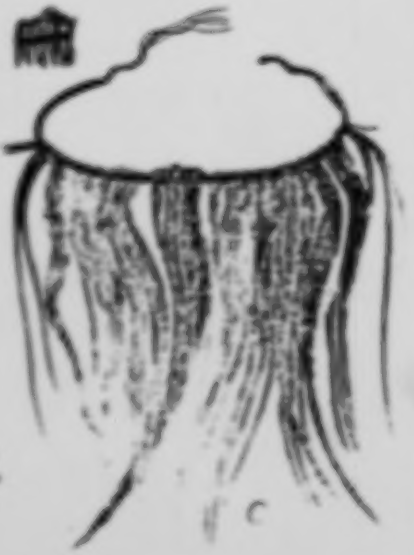
B

301 ←

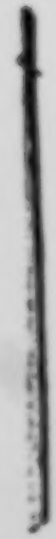
778 →

342 →

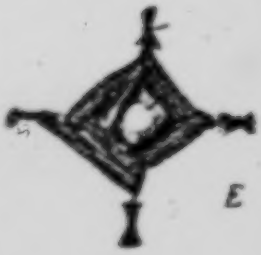
[illegible]
436 →



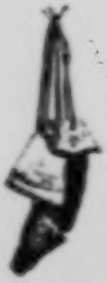
C



D



E



F

A. — Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. — Festive sling.

C. — Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. — Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. — Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

F. — Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Plate XVI

415
[531]
→

A

C

[532]
←

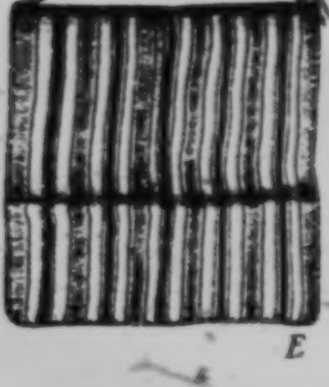
*[1196]
[782]
→

D

[532]
←

286
531
415
→

B



E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415 A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
532
286
B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
531
796 C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (kals).
778
782 D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.
E. – Woven bag (kals).

/155/

Material Culture

Habitation

342 The habitation problem is one of the hardest that the Čipaya have had to resolve. Nature has refused them any natural shelter and all that seems absolutely indispensable for the construction of a dwelling: not one tree, not the shortest candle cactus on their bare plain, not even earth for adobes. Nothing but sand, and soil that grass roots make compact. Here again, however, human ingenuity has been able to conquer all obstacles and resolve all difficulties. In the same way that the Eskimos cut blocks out of the snow from which they make their round huts, the Čipaya cut clods out of the ground, which piled up on each other create huts of beehive form strangely similar to the "snow houses" of the Arctic peoples. As huts built entirely of clods (Pl. VI, C /see p. 214/) cannot attain any great size, the Čipaya prefer to build cylindrical houses (kˇoya), which they cover with a cupola of thatch. Aside from the roof, the principle of construction in these two types of habitation is the same.

[412] The clods (pʰaya) are cut out of the ground by means of a hoe. As the stroke given with this instrument is oblique, the piece of detached earth, which is 70 cm. long, about 30 to 35 cm. wide, and 15 cm. thick, has the form of the trunk of a quadrangular pyramid or of the trunk of a parallelepiped rectangle. Half of the thickness is intermingled with roots which make a sort of very solid adobe of the clump. It is always used turned over, i.e., with the roots in the air.

/156/ The hut stands on a basement which protects it from floods. This platform is made of a series of clods juxtaposed flat or edgewise, which form the floor. After this the clods are simply superimposed without tying or mortar. The wall perfectly circular does not rise perpendicularly, but inclines gently from the base to

/156 cont./

342 the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening ([illegible]) of the door ([illegible]) which is always framed with a white band, is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is

[335] situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D /see p. 142/).

414
191 Figure 1,[a] E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Čipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

[113] 1. On this subject see Gennep (A. van). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. XI, 1914, pp. 121-133.

342
335 The roof. The straw dome ([illegible]) which covers the Čipaya huts of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola.[a] The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[a] [See pp 142-143 -- [illegible]]

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots of tola ([illegible], [illegible]) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes ([illegible]) (Pl. VI, B /see p. [illegible]/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 3, H /see p. [illegible]/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood ([illegible]) /Figure 3 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum ([illegible]) made of straw ([illegible]) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are bound up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle ([illegible]) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 3, [illegible]) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to accompany a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of the thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the interlacing of a long straw cord which is tightened by workers carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text continues on p. 148]

2:Métraux--142 E-3 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SI24 Uru SI24
Carangal —
Chipaya

413 /157/

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414 →

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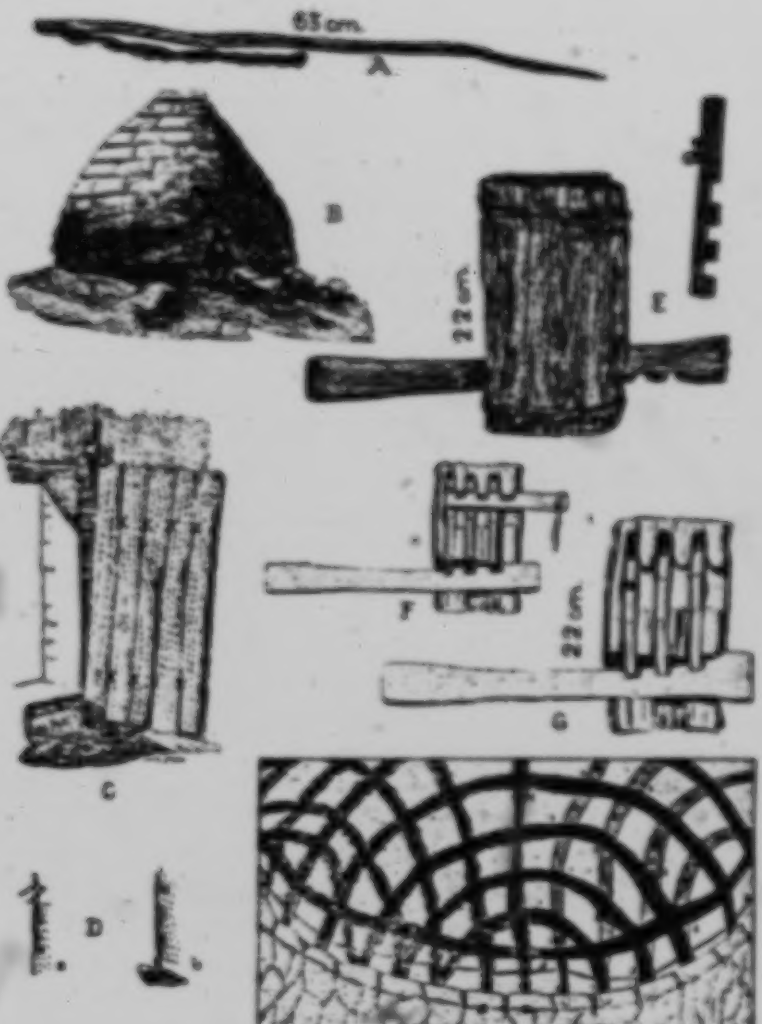
[335] →



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22 cm.
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/See captions on next page./

/157 cont./

Fig. 1. — Čipaya material culture. The habitation.

413
342 A: Needle with which the Čipaya sew the thatch to the frame.
414 B: Hovel of clods of earth.
412
395 C: Door of cactus wood.
D: Detail of the door. a: top; b: bottom.
E: Čipaya lock and key.
F, G: The same lock seen in cross section.
H: Schema showing the method of constructing the framework of the cupola which covers the roof of the huts.

Carangas =
Chipaya

/118 cont./
reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well constructed; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall. They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood ([illegible]) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[119]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Carangas =
Chipaya

/138 cont./

[illegible] who mentions them seems to consider them as /138/ indigenous. The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

[illegible] Enormous wool blankets (čusi), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are wide enough for one to suffice to cover for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the feet end, as a blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small shelves of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (čua), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

[136 cont.]

Means of Subsistence

[illegible] Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in [illegible] describing the environment [120] where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of ditches from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. [illegible] All along these ditches and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B [see p. 140]). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for men at lambing time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

[illegible] The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

[illegible] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" ([illegible]), or estancias (Pl. IV, A [see p. 213]) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

[illegible]

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [illegible]. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep ([illegible]), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas ([illegible]). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on [illegible] the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony. 231]

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them be- [262] cause I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 [434] Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinoa) (in the Čipaya: kvula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skéta), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[423] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[412] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles; a specimen

[illegible]

[illegible] of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, 8 [see p. 120]). Today they use long-handled hoes (azaduna, yakusa) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with [illegible] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently [illegible] of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter [illegible] of several broken down enclosures.

294 434 439 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried 439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region [illegible] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

332 1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (cir̃a) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (saraka-pana) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

[182 cont.]

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell [illegible] for [illegible] which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth woven in a neighboring village were given to Chipaya women to be finished.

264 Formerly some Chipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitrera" (nitrate-mining) [illegible] of Tarapacá.

[401] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new needs. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Chipaya outside their "home place."

[illegible] The crisis of overproduction which raged over the whole world upset the economic life of the Chipaya. The low quotations, [illegible] the Stock Exchange, on the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the desertion of the [illegible], and the sale of cheese [illegible]. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the [illegible] in the [illegible] and there is no [illegible] for [illegible]. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Chipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their product [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] which constitutes the heart of the great [illegible] of [illegible].

645 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the [illegible] of this tribe is not as [illegible] as one might conclude from their material culture.

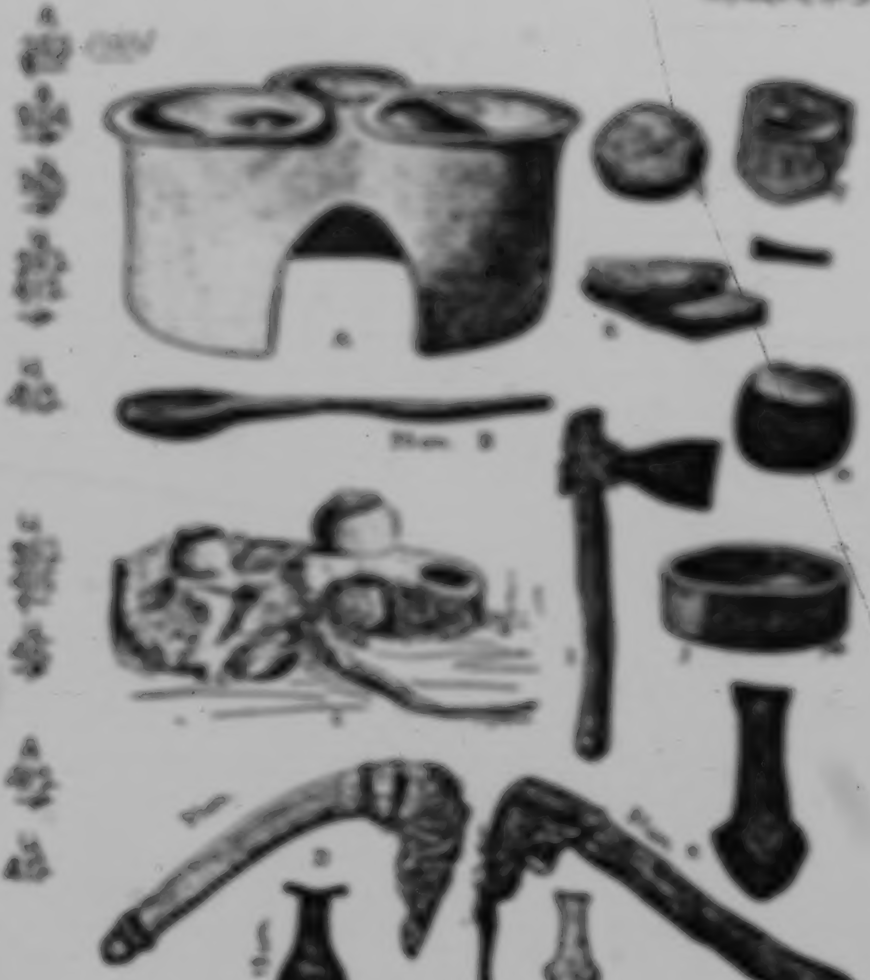
224 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Chipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, ~~water bird~~, which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and [illegible], a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes

[262] the principal food of the Chipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[See captions on next page.]

[illegible]—1936 [illegible] (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas –
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

[illegible]

Fig. 5.—Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

a: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
b: Wooden spoon ([illegible]).
C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
E: One-form stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh
the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
F: Čipaya [illegible].
G: Mortar ([illegible]) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped tool and old hafting.
J: Stone vat ([illegible]) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

Carangas =
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

UA 113 243

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur),
Los Chipayas de Carangas
/The Čipaya of Carangas/.
La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6;
La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas,
Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" Language
(Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz,
1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones
en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investi-
gations in Carangas (Bolivia)/,"
Congrès international des Américanistes,
Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held
at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925,
p. 91.

UA 224 the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one,[a] and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. A 224 It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

U 224 The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, U 411 225 swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

U 226 The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

[a] [i.e., The TOXO -- Analyst]

[illegible]

226 [434] /166 cont./ [illegible] Čipaya amuse themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
[171] Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to hold small objects (Fig. 3, 9 /see p. 151/).

Preparation of Food

252 It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking.
[171] Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable
[434] taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2, 1 /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

252 The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal
262 (akxal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čañi) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tiars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (kxisa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on [439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in [412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (tʷax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/); 412 liquids are taken with a spoon (wisi'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (kˣesi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

234 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the [439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya.* When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

224 [283] /166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is
firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number
of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt
[317] which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out
about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

224 The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct
721 consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As
for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream
of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes
598 or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their
bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then
accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves,
and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do
not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play
in this case.

411 [171] The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the
weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a
peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas
or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the
route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of
the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject.
Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya
a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

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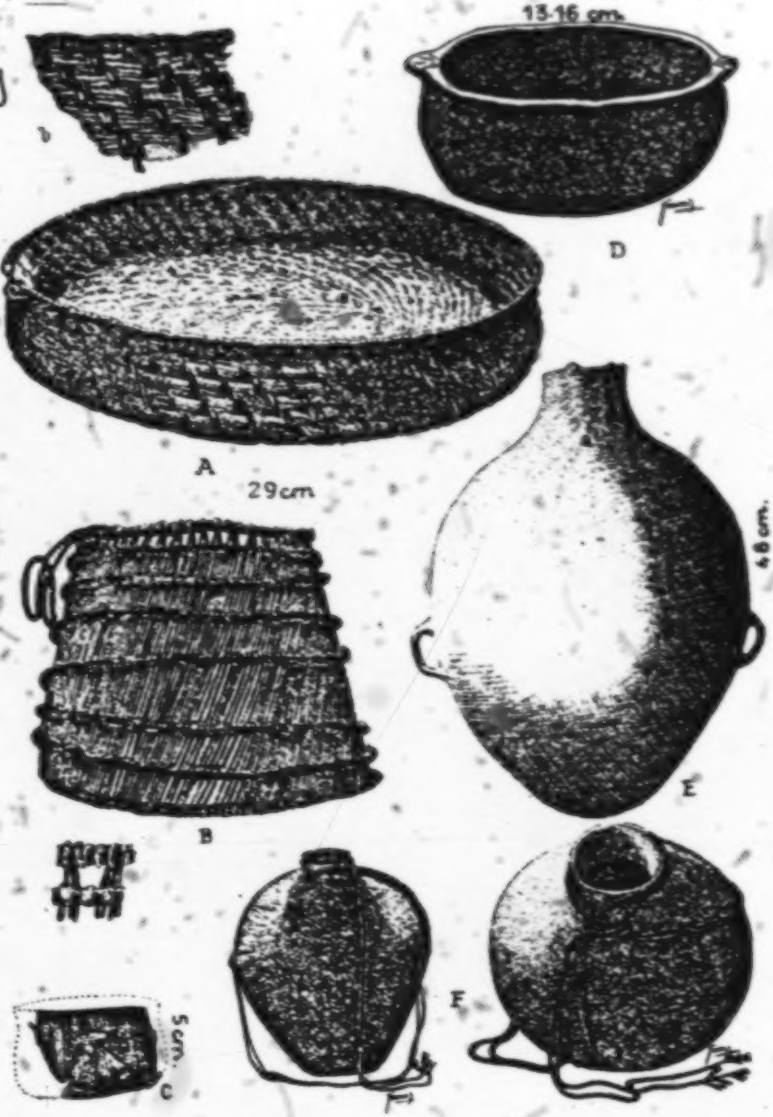
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/167 cont./

Fig. 3. – Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (lüš) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (lüš) of old type (from a sketch).

/168 cont./

223 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending
411 with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon
191 corresponds exactly to the *bola perdida* of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the *bola perdida* has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

223 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds
411 which swarm in the *totorales* with *bolas*, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their *balsas*. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

291 *Men's wear.* The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (*ira*) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The *ira* was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The *ira* is the best product
[531] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white
[386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

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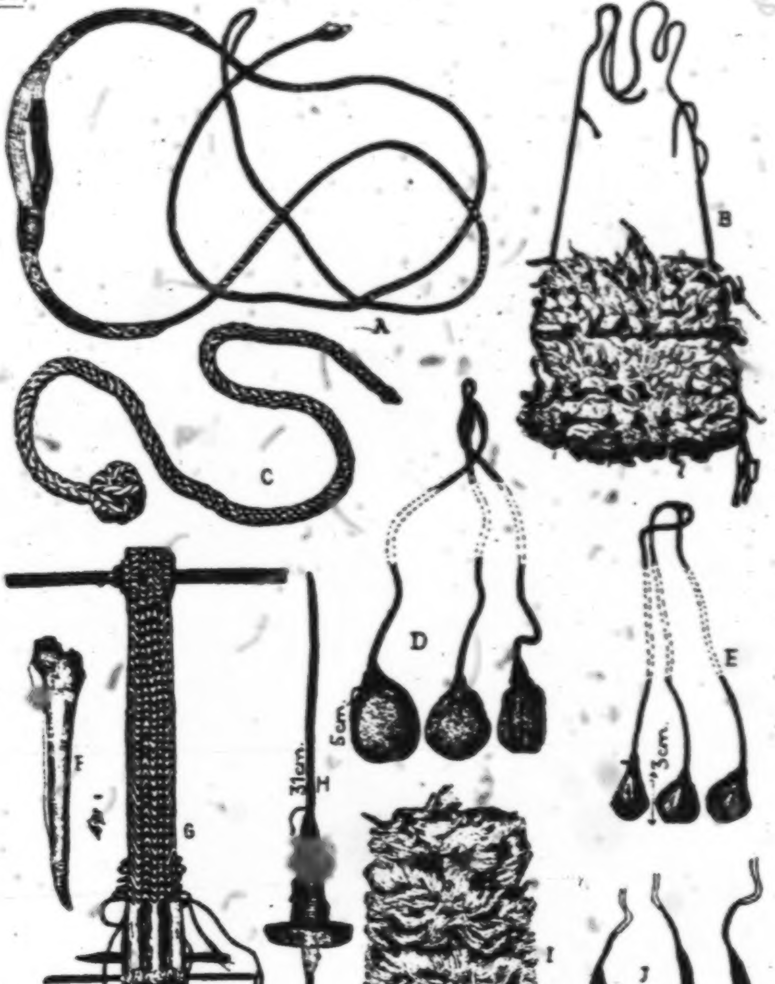
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172

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.
B: Bag (*kāls*) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.
C: Čipaya *bola perdida*.
D-E: Pre-Columbian *bolas*.
F: Weaver's dagger (*wiña*), of bone.
G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (*tsai*).
H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (*t'eri*).
I: Bag (*kāls*) made from the skin of a llama's neck.
J: Weights of a modern Čipaya *bola*.

/170 cont./

294 286 These shirts[1] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler. Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo.
Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [175] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Perú and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

[1] [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth – Analyst]

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113] 2. Montell, Gösta, "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII, 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru, Göteborg, 1929, pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[294] Peru. The Čipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
171 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113] 3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Sevil[illegible], 1893, Vol. IV, p. 160: "T[illegible]oak takes less work: they make it [illegible] two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

/171 cont./

291
> this we call it manta, although
> the name the Indians give it is
> yacoña." /Cited in Spanish./

In The Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors. [531]

291 The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type. [286]

293 Bags (kãls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I). [531]

291 Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pãz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This
[177] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of
[797] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of
[171] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua
[531] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other
[171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip. [53]

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (čkuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. 301 On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pīz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture. [111]

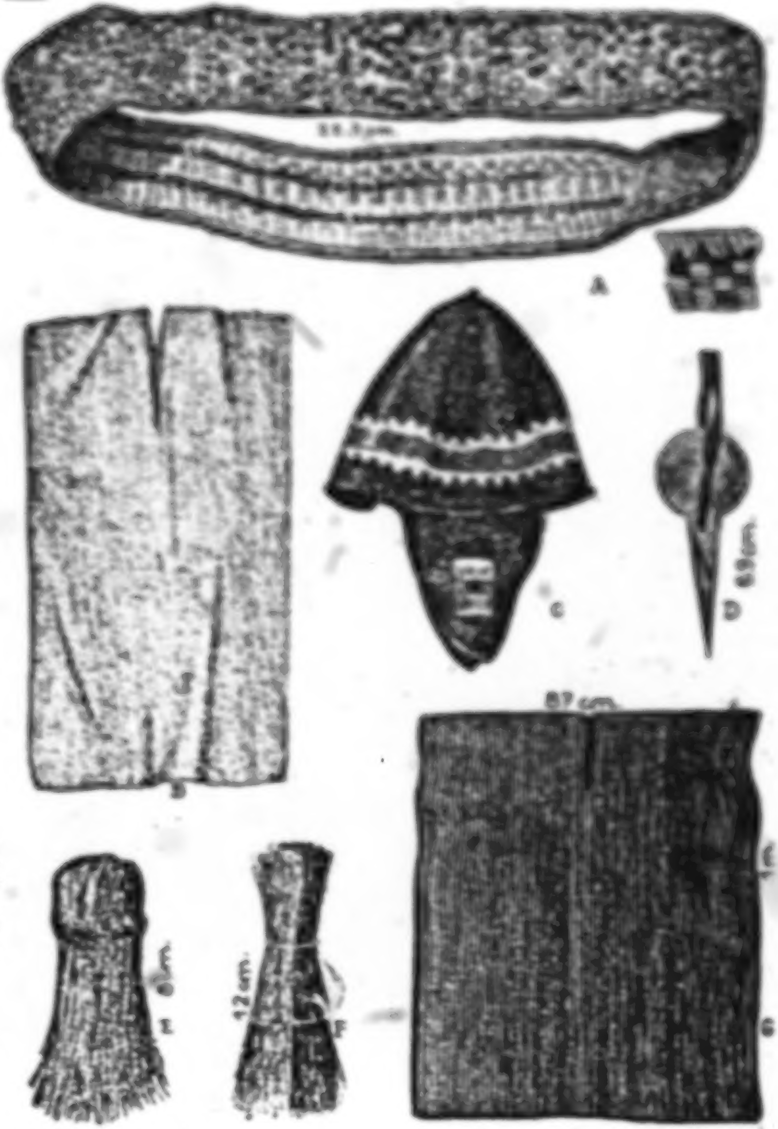
302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine. [412] [824] [239]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas = Chipaya

/173/

301


55.5 cm.
A
B
C
6.9 cm.
D
87 cm.
G
8 cm.
E
12 cm.
F
G

291 ←

301 →

302
417
294
239 ←

291 →

/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/(3) cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool ([illegible]).
C: Cap of knitted wool ([illegible]).
D: Pin ([illegible]) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush ([illegible] or [illegible]) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic ([illegible]).

/Text resumes./

women urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent solvent of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there is a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the mistress of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /165/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/166/ Technology

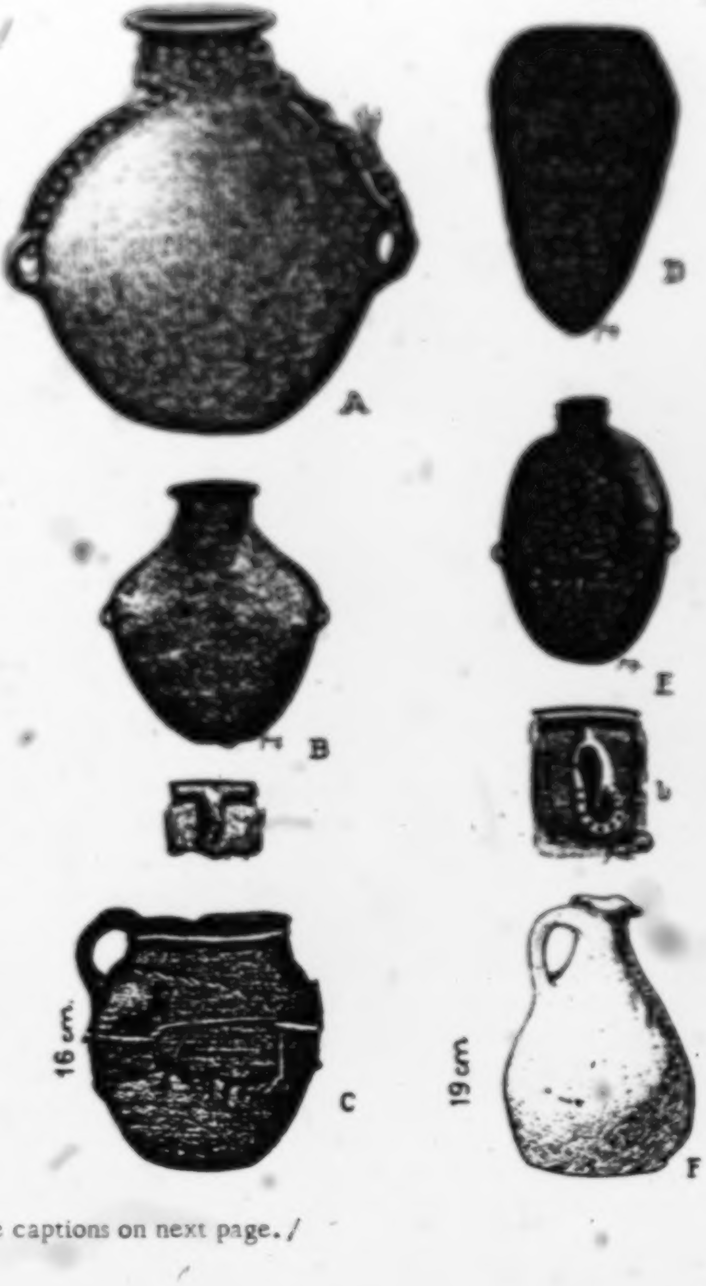
323 415 Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas Province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballoi (157) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). 482 It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 166]

Carangas =
Chipaya
[illegible] SF5

/178/

A
415
A
[304]
U
415
439


16 cm
A
D
B
E
b
16 cm.
C
19 cm
F

U
[323]

/See captions on next page./

Carangas =
Chipaya
Aymara 395

A /175 cont./
415 Fig. 6.—Čipaya material culture. Ceramics

U
415
491 A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Čipaya.

B: Aryballoid jug (1/10) imported from Parinacota (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).

C: Small pot (1/8) imported from Parinacota.

D: Jar imported from Parinacota (from a sketch made from life).

E: Large, slightly asymmetrical jar imported from Parinacota;
b: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.

U
[303] F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

/176 cont./

Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of these ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 181/).

The names (maska, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uru did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

Spinning. The raw sheep's wool ([illegible]) or llama wool ([illegible]) is coiled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle ([illegible]) (Fig. 6, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ ([illegible]) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimens crudely carved with a knife.

To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, 8 /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

[illegible]

/177 cont./

265. it is more advantageous to have thicker ones. With this aim two are twisted together during an operation which is analogous but made up of different movements. The rotation movement communicated to the spindle is carried out with the flat of the hand. The spinner, abandoning the spindle to itself, follows the thread with her right hand until it comes up to the spindle when she stops it to make it turn again.

266. Weaving. The loom (Fig. 4, C [illegible] 177) is essentially composed of two sticks between which the warp threads run. The latter are not directly fastened to the sticks but to a cord stretched along the latter. To weave, the Indian woman begins by tying the forepart of the loom to two short stakes ([illegible]) stuck in the ground in front of which she sits down (Pl. V, C [see p. 336]). Then she holds out the warp while tying the other end to her own body by means of a small cord ([illegible], [illegible]) passed around her waist. The systematic raising of the warp threads ([illegible]) is done, as usual, with the help of small loops of thread placed between two wooden sticks ([illegible]). Their crossing is maintained thanks to a stick ([illegible]) placed behind this network. The motions of the Indian during the weaving operation can be broken down as follows: with the thumb of the right hand she presses on the warp threads behind the network of small loops to make the upper threads pass under. This motion ended she slides a wooden knife ([illegible]) pointed at both ends behind the network, between the warp threads. She puts it edgewise and with a bone dagger (Fig. 4, F) she picks and presses together the threads which have just crossed. She then darts through her shuttle ([illegible]), which is nothing but a cleft stick around which she has wound the weft thread ([illegible]). To cross the warp threads again, with the bone dagger ([illegible], [illegible]) she lifts the lower threads over the network, passes her wooden knife through again, and makes /178/ her shuttle again pass through the half-opening between the warp threads and begins again the operation described. The material is begun at the two ends of the loom and ends in the middle of the piece.

[illegible]

[illegible]

To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick practice. They put each of the differently colored balls [of thread] into a bag and pull successively on each of them.

Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the warp, as shown in Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 8, C [see p. 157]) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

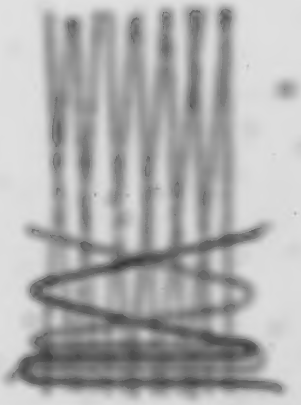


Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

The Čiriguano [Chiriguano] women use the same process to weave their belts. This system is certainly older than the modern one consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Ceresia wood locally made (Pl. V, D [see p. 224]). This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the puna of Jujuy (1).

/178 cont./

286
294
[113] 1. Rosen (Eric von). Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

[177] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills:: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

286
531 /179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of [177] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. 286 177 The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, [464] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[462] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

227
439 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534] [114] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [111] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

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[113] 1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

/180 cont./

[534] [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [778] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [174] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [796] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name t^{h}oti in Čipaya.

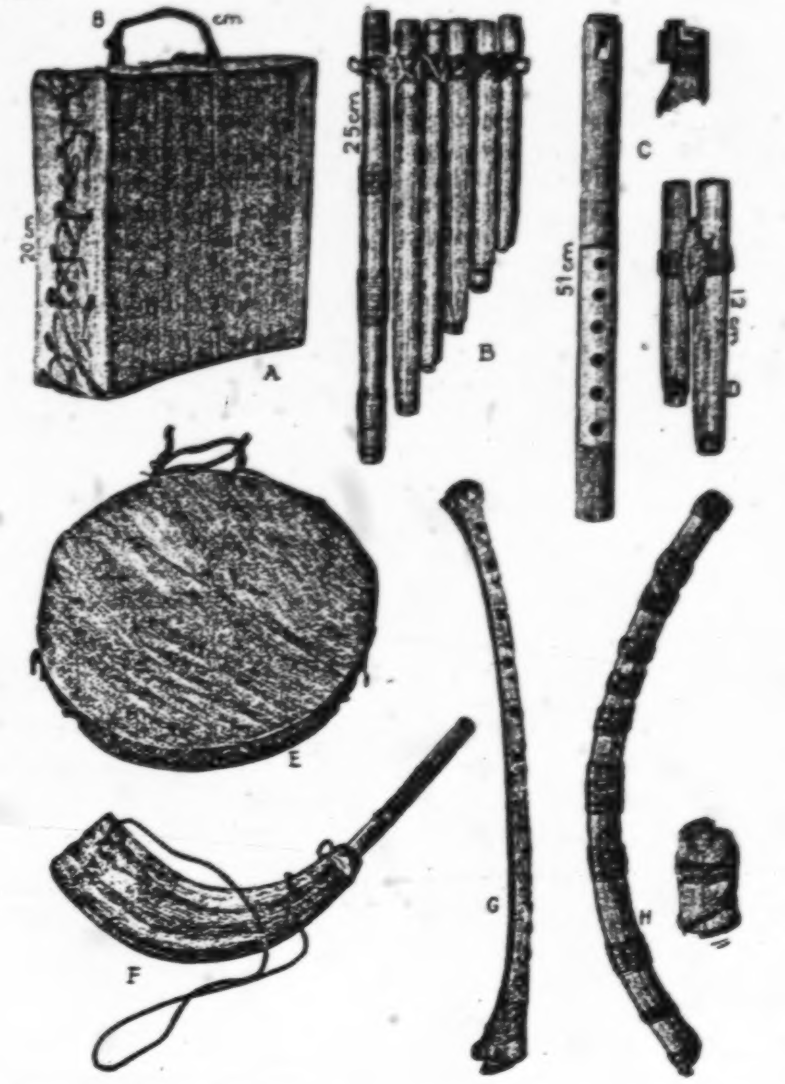
Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/181/

534


8 cm
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25 cm
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51 cm
C
12 cm
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G
H
I

[237]
→

/See captions on next page./

/181 cont./

534 Fig. 8.—Cipaya material culture. Musical instruments.

A: Square drum.
B: Syrinx.
C: Pinkulʾu, flute with mouthpiece of the Indians of the altiplano and section of the mouthpiece.
D: Syrinx with two pipes.
E: Circular drum.
F: Clarinet (tʰoti).
[239] G: Flute with mouthpiece made from the wing bone of a condor.
H: Bent flute with mouthpiece.

/182 cont./

534 inserting practically the whole tube in the mouth. This instrument, clearly post-Columbian, is rather rare in Chipaya. The Indians part with it willingly, attributing to it only minimal value. They play it for the pleasure of making noise without any musical pretension.

[171] The quena. The abundance of different kinds of flutes may be considered typical of the Indian music of South America. This variety is displayed even among the Čipaya. One finds here the quena, different sorts of flutes with mouthpieces, and lastly Panpipes, or the syrinx.

Quena is the old Quichua word for the ancient long flute of [171] Peru. As the quena of the Čipaya are exactly the same as those of the /183/ Aymara or the Quichua, we have only to reproduce here what d'Harcourt says on the subject of the latter: "This flute is open at both /Figure 9 and 10 appear here/ /184/ ends. A square opening has been carved in a portion of the upper end of the instrument. The edge of the opening is very thin, and it is blown against while the lower lip practically closes the opening. One must place the lips in such a way as to allow a stream of air to meet the edge of the opening. Before one is used to playing this instrument, it is very difficult to adjust one's breath and find the suitable position, all the more so as it changes according to the tones."

As bamboos and reeds split easily in these basically dry regions and, on the other hand, the raw material for these instruments comes from faraway places, it is easy to understand the care with which the Indians take care of them and the value which they attach to them. The quena I collected are carefully strengthened with undressed leather thongs and the interstices have been glued with so much care that no breath of air can escape and render the flute unusable.

The quena (Fig. 9 /see p. 175/) has six holes and a hole for the thumb at the bottom. All are on the lower part of the instrument. If we start from the mouthpiece and begin with the upper hole, the respective distance of the holes, calculated in centimeters, is the following (Fig. 10, b /see p. 175/):

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 176]

/183 cont./

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[284]
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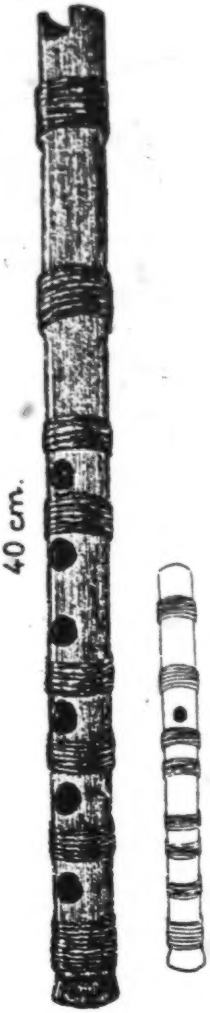
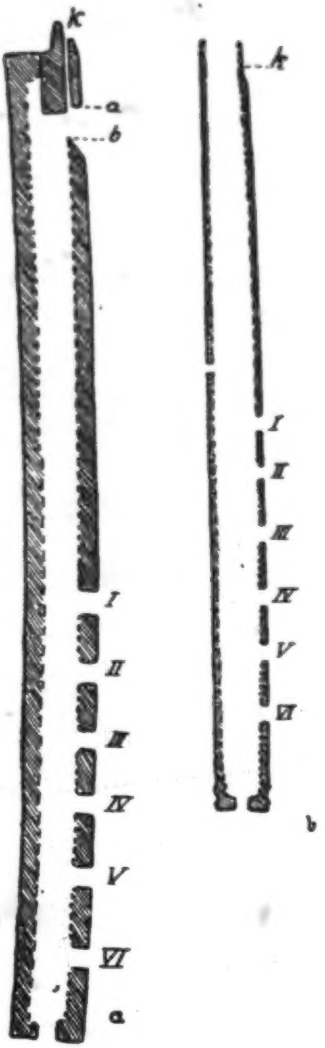


Fig. 9. – Quena.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k
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II
III
IV
V
VI
b

Fig. 10. – a: Cross section of a flute with mouthpiece; b: Cross section of a quena.

/184 cont./

534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.6	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[824] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them them-
[284] selves, taking an old one as a model to give them the
→ distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such
[314] a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

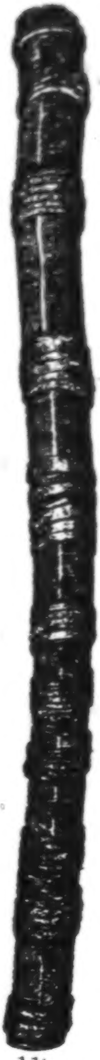

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
[237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[171] [839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-
[192] Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

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534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (mato) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [194] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[196] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [191] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very [191] old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

/187/

534 the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

[177] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taks or use the Aymara term phusa.

[439] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[177] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[179] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

/187 cont./ With the exception of the

534 [171] bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[177] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be [126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal [301] [237] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

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Y 796 415 Some families still have *kˣeru*, i.e., large wooden mugs (3), beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of *chicha*. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The *kˣeru* which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

Y [782] The bowl (*umaña*) in the bottom of which a llama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the *chicha* which the Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the *Pachamama* when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

Y 778 [824] No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (*kamana-para*) which are the /*189*/

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3. Cf. *Journal*, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, D.

4. Cf. *Journal*, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVII, A.

M 554 824 5. Cf. *Journal*, Vol. XVII, Pl. XVI, D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become *mandón* or *campo* it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back ~~palms~~ /*palmes*/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

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778 after mass on Palm Sunday."
824 It is not impossible that the
171 palm /palmier/ wood of the
Čipaya corresponds to these "palms"
[113] of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year, No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

778 guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a
796 prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

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Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
[857] Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

/189 cont./

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	Men	Women
Transport	+	+
Irrigation	+	-
Cultivation	+	-
Instrumental music	+	-
Basket-making.	+	-
Crochet	+	-
Trade	+	+
Fishing -	+	-
Bird hunting	+	-

Comparative Study

u 171 127 The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

u *171 621 Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

u *171 342 A 342 At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

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the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width, the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new

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Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is,

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I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

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1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

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2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

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In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

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342 [554] Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*171 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*171 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It

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seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary houses would have survived, whereas the houses themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chulipas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

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One word more on the distribution of the round huts: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1) makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

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/193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

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1. Xauxa Province, Vol. I, p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera), Vol. I, p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsora, Vol. I, p. 176; Collao, Vol. II, p. 62; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator), Vol. III, p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator), Vol. III, pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito, Vol. III, p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo, Vol. IV, p. LI; etc., etc.

· Carangas—
Chipaya
Aymara SF5
Modern Quechua SE2A
Manta SD10

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1. Herndon (Wm. Lewis) and Gibbon (Lardner), Exploration of the valley of the Amazon made under direction of the navy department, Washington, 1854, Part II, p. 152.

of the Indians of this valley are rotund, built entirely of moistened clay and stone, with but one entrance. These houses are going out of fashion, though many of them are used at the present day. There are a number of ruins about the valley, supposed to be of the style of ancient times. The art of building archways was an accomplishment of the Aymara tribe, of which we found no signs near the Inca capital." /Cited in English./ A [341]

U *171 Ma 342 [113] Godet (2) also mentions this type of hut among the Huancavelica

2. Godet (Ernest), "Monographie de la région de Huancavelica (Département de Junin au Pérou) /Monograph on the Region of Huancavelica (Department of Junín in Peru)." Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Neuchâtel, Vol. XXVII, 1918, p. 150.

/Huancavilca/ Indians in Peru. They have there a temporary character and are built by the poor Indians who live in the mountains. "Of a circular or quadrangular form, (their hut) is constructed of champa mixed with large stones and sometimes with clay. The Indian chooses the higher, not rotted part of the peat which covers the marsh of the entire region. He detaches it from the ground in pieces 15 to 20 cm. thick, 40 to 60 cm. long, and 20 to 30 cm. wide. These pieces are piled more or less methodically in such a Ma [314]

Chipaya
Manta SD10
Peruvian Indians SE3
Modern Quechua SE24

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way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form, confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20 meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut."

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The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method of constructing these habitations was not very different from that which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed entirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English./

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Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-/194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of southeastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries are always round in form."

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For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that it is incomplete.

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3. Olson (Ronald I.), "Old empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, pp. 10-11.

1. The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia, Chapter 1.

2:Métraux--190 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

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* U 171 A 342 The descriptions of the Aymara house of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves to us that aside from its form, the Aymara hut had the cupola roof in common with the hut of the present-day Čipaya; the frame made of thin, incurved branches was covered with a thick bed of straw; the door was always oriented toward the east (2).

2. Cobo, Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, pp. 166-167: "The houses are sometimes round and sometimes of two slopes; the round ones are more used and common in the cold regions, such as in the province of Collao, because they provide good shelter. The usual houses of the common people have walls no higher than one estado, and some much less, set up in the shape of a perfect circle from 14 to 20 pies in diameter, more or less, according to their capacity and size; and many of them are so small and low that if the roof is removed, their circle looks like the wall of a well. The covering of these round houses has the shape of a funnel or vault, because the beams with which they cover them are sometimes straight slender poles which, propped one against the other at the top, assume the first-mentioned shape, while others are twisted and curved to give the roof the shape of a vault. It is true that we see today in some places these round houses which were ancient abodes of caciques,

Chipaya
Aymara SF5

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* U 171 A 342 of outlandish size, high and very capacious, with a big straight smooth mast like that of a ship stuck in the middle of the floor, on top of which sits the entire cover of wood. Such is a large Buhio which is in the pueblo of Juli, and some other similar ones which I have seen in other pueblos of Collao. This habitation is very well suited to the way of life or, better said, the way of drinking, of the Indians; because, seated in a circle in one of those round houses and leaning against the wall, they are accustomed to drink for days and nights. . . ." "Nails are not used in the cover of wood and roofing, just as none are used in the other types, for over the beams or poles they weave and tile with cords and thin strands of rope a wattle of reeds or small sticks and branches over which, instead of a roof, they put a quantity of Hicho, that I have seen some of these old houses with a covering more than two codos thick." /Cited in Spanish./ Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 62: "These houses are round in form and style, made of adobes of stone and clay, small, 15 pies around, covered with quinoa wood and mageyes (sic) and straw, and a small door toward

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the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

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On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

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The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

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Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

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291 *Clothing*. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (*ira*) worn by the Čipaya. This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the altiplano the Uro of Ancoaqui (Desaguadero) are, with the Čipaya, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (*camiseta*) constantly recurs in the accounts of the first conquerors. Among the Uro the *ira* has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the *camiseta* is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Čiriguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Montell, *Dress and ornaments*, pp. 193-200; for the cape, *ibid.*, pp. 200-202.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the *poncho* in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian *Sierra* (2).

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2. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankococoahua," *Revista Universitaria*, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Yabar Palacio (Luis), "El Ayllu de Oqueros (Paucartambo), *Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco*, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

2:Métraux--194 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Aymara SF5

/196/

*Y 171 291 The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Čipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Iscara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /ref. in English/). *Y 171 A 291 The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara cap: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

A [113] 1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

Y 294 [237] The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

*Y [171] [113] 2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 262: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

/196 cont./

*171 294 been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. [197] Dr. Krickeberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

*171 291 Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (urku), the female costume of the Čipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passages from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as skirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /197/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called chumpi. This skirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned aside and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

/197 cont./

*171 291 they wear it over the shoulders, and joining the ends over the breast fasten them with a pin. These are their mantles, or cloaklets, which reach down to mid-leg, and they remove them to work and while they are at home." ...... "They encircle it (the head) with a ribbon the width of a finger, more or less, painted and odd, which they call Vincha, which hangs down the forehead. As a headdress they wear a piece of rich Cumbí called Pampacona, and they do not wear it stretched out but folded three or four times, so that it gets to be half a tercia in width; they put one end over the forehead, and giving a turn over the middle of the head, leaving the hair uncovered on the sides, the other end falls down the upper back." /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

[532] An aryballus from the Berlin Museum (V.A. 7896) is decorated at the base of the neck with a series of paintings depicting slightly stylized women. One could imagine oneself in the presence of the silhouette of a group of Čipaya women: without difficulty one distinguishes the tunic held at the waist by a large belt, the mantle falling on the back, and the folded napkin on the head in the style of a Neapolitan coif. This coif is also seen in the rather naive drawings of Huaman Poma de Ayala (2) and in some portraits of Inca princesses, wives of conquistadores, who are depicted on a scene in the church of the Jesuits in Cuzco, if I am not mistaken. The felt hat which is never absent from the head of Quichua or Aymara

1. On the clothing of the women of the Sierra during the Inca period, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 226-236.

2. In Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 83, p. 178; Fig. 97, p. 224; Fig. 98, p. 230.

/197 cont./
+171 women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which
291 up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, *Dress and ornaments*, p. 232.

291 Even in cases where historical documents may have remained
172 silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the *chullpas* near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of *urku* which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the *chullpas* are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

+171 Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also
172 a reminiscence of the past? The *chullpas* of Iscara and Huachacalla
302 gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

/198 cont./

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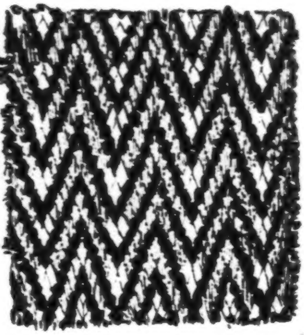

Fig. 12. —Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Iscara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personnage, or laurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring us proof /199/ that in remote ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /Figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians

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302

of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama."

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[531] →

The women of the Ankcoeccahua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called cakcapa, without doubt

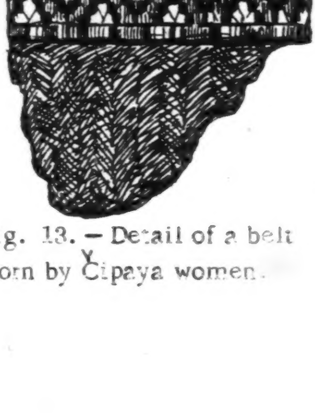

Fig. 13. — Detail of a belt worn by Čipaya women.

/200 cont./

*171 302 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."

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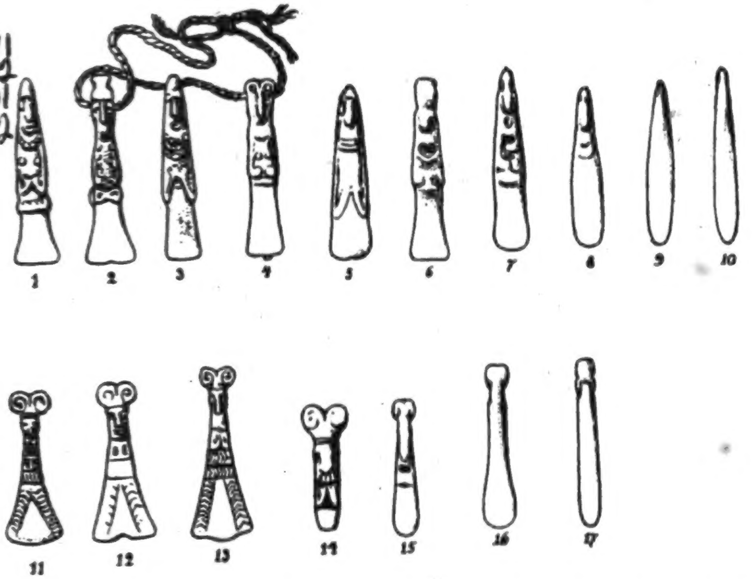

Fig. 14.—Evolution of the laurake[2] from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113] 1. Alvarez (Angélica), "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*171 172 301 Pendants identical to the Čipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco

[2] [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage--Analyst]

/200 cont./
*171 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
301 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
[532] tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

*171 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
126 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
325 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

*171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

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it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

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/201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

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The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann

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1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

[113]
2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

/201 cont./

*171 412 Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of anteaters. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

*171 301 [172] The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

/202 cont./

*171 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer
412 exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making
rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer
*171 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument
114 has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld;
412 he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the
list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World.
In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the
handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under
the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a
very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara
Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original
415 function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have
[532] been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with
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2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

[532] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*171 286 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre- [531] Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced, where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

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/202 cont./
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and Doering (Heinrich), Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru /Art History of Old Peru/, Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[113]
1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

/203 cont./

*171 286 2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[113] 3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/." Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

/203 cont./

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[013]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin
of the Indian Civilizations in
South America," Comparative
Ethnographical Studies, 9,
Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the [203] occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
142 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

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461 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

/205 cont./
157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[857] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a
vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing.
The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material
or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by
having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
171 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from
the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as
the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the
altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal
apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which
rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only
two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/
liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was
severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which
I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never
forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more
touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a
[431] result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents
of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a
service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made with-
out any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have
reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is
a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123] devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
[126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments
of Those near Them.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/206 cont./

152 of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and
578 impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts
[154] of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in
interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of
mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit
spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each
other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does
not make a good life."

593 Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the
578 characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate
into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to
his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic
[1062] conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama:
a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of
hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own
hands.

836 Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me,
bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom
before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to
848 virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them
837 from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity
can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves
be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery
593 provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent
affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a
privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They
speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision
can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never
157 mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya com-
177 pare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race,
who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence.
609 The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust
161 of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to
stay with them.

Plate I

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A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday best.

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C. Čipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

Chipaya/ Carangas
Aymara SF5

Plate II

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A. Landscape of the *puna* in the neighborhood of Chipaya.

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B. The Aymara village of Iscara seen from the church tower.

Plate III

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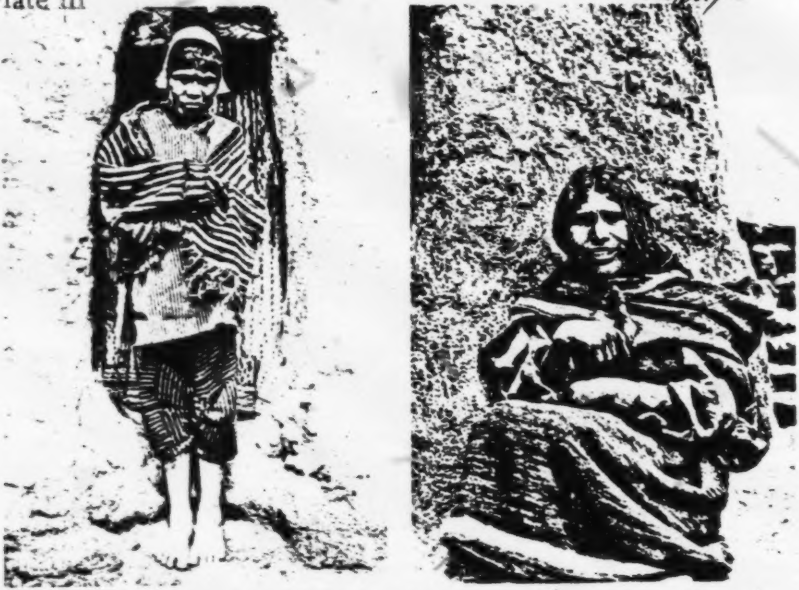
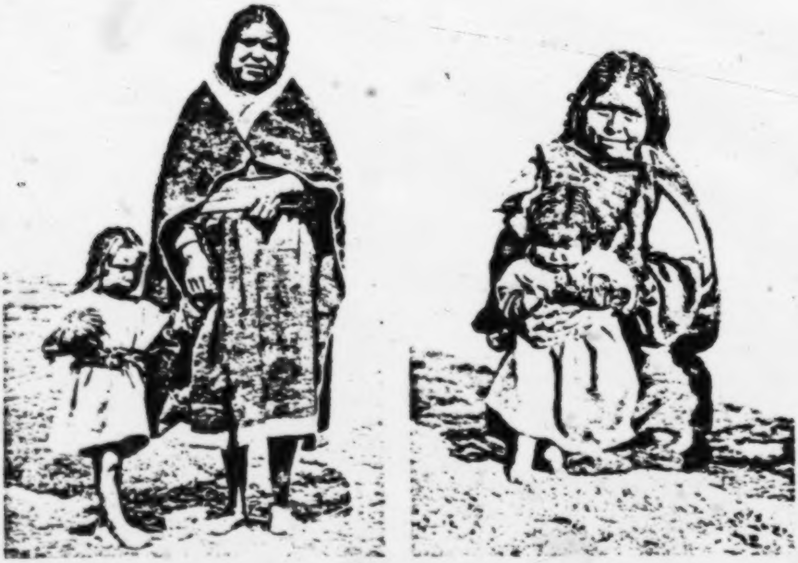


A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent informant.

B. Young Čipaya woman.



C-D. Čipaya women.

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361 Plate IV

A. One of the *estancias* of Chipaya.

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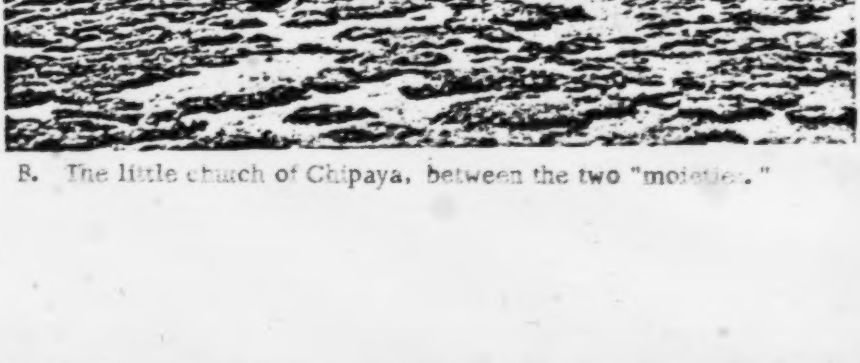

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

Plate V

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[252]
[243]
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[283]
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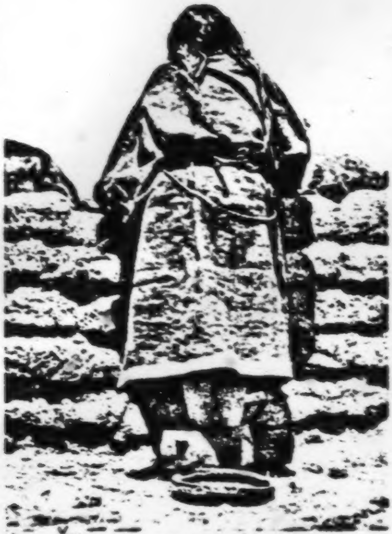
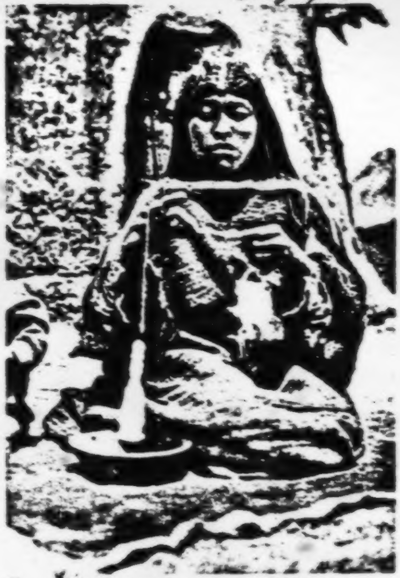


A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.



B. Čipaya woman spinning.

291
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[302]
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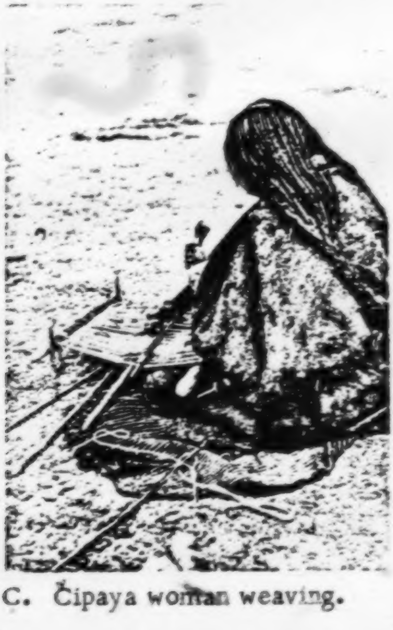
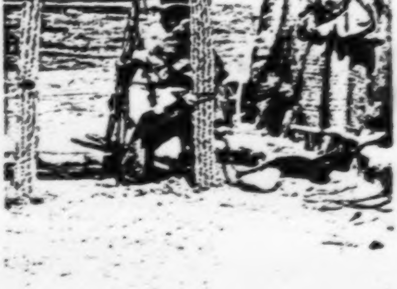


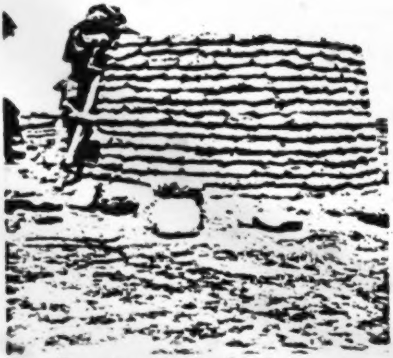
C. Čipaya woman weaving.



D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

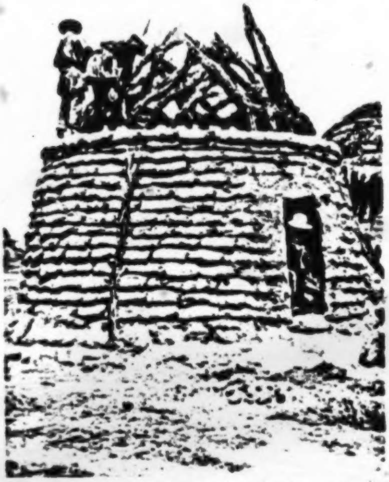
U
342

Plate VI



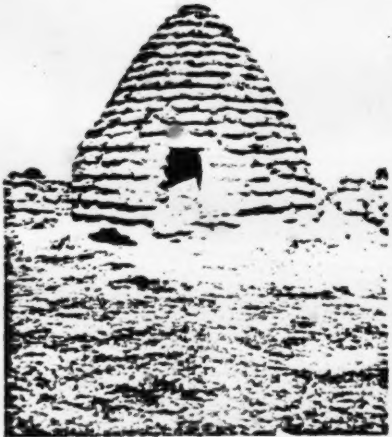
U
[824]
→

A. Construction of a hut.

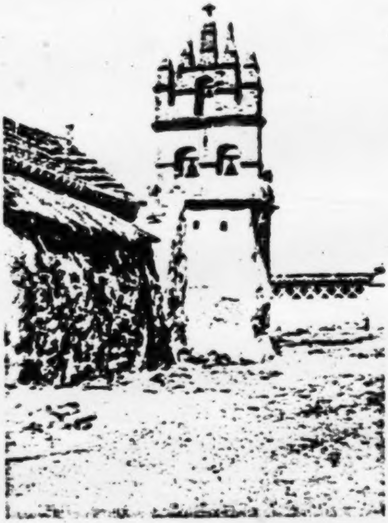


B. Construction of a hut: the faggots of tola are arranged in arches.

A
[346]
→



C. Čipaya hut made entirely of clods.



D. The Aymara church in Iscara (Carangas Province).

/337/

The Uro Language

101
191
(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during
January-February 1931.

Introduction

197
121
My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained [128] the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Čipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the [126] death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as
192 197 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Aymara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle between the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
[193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, adverbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that
the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with
particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived
near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One
/339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have
come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara
that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem
to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from
my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with
Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version.
This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become
somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten
his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient
number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in
my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their
activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among
them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have
no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories
of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to
gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me
an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with
a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the
apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving
me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering,
obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I
wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

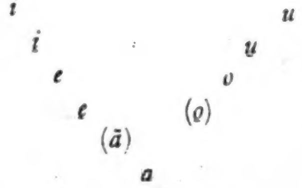
115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing
with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out,
and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles
that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the
Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of
almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[191] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost
always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them
translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system complicated
115 my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was
well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent
Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this
dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained
from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had
all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them
to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just
transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to
make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant
use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed
by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui
six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in
Chipaya before my eyes.

/340 cont./

Phonetics

114 128 194 It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194. The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e.

ę is a more open e than the French è in "père." It is almost a very closed front a.

/341/

194 I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of
[128] an o (ǫ) whose articulation would be close to a gutteral (back) a.
[114] Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The dipthongs are the following: au̯, eu̯, u̯a, (wa), u̯e (we).

The sign ˇ put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphtong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Constringents		Liquids		
Aspirated	h								
Guttural (medio gut.)	k	g	k		x				
Palatal			č	ǰ	š	ž̧		l'	ñ
Dental	t (tʰ)		ts		s	(z̧)	r	l	n
Labial	p (pʰ)					w			

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

č = "ch" in Spanish.
š = "ch" in French.
ž̧ = French "j" in "jeter."

/341 cont./

194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^s = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^h = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^x = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^xoya: house; k^xoyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Cipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128
192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/342 cont./

128 192 As I have already had the occasion to say, words of foreign origin are marked with an asterisk: * for Aymara, ** for Spanish, and *** for Kičua.

Words common to both Aymara and Kičua have been considered as borrowings from the former language. Words of hybrid composition have been separated by a hyphen mark. Asterisks indicate the provenance of the foreign element.

When words with different roots correspond to a single idea, they are enumerated one after another if the number of instances is limited, and separated in paragraphs if they are numerous.

Every word the translation of which is doubtful has been followed by a question mark. /The word list, pp. 342-387, the texts, pp. 387-393, and the bibliography, pp. 393-394, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

alcalde -- a functionary who is in charge of a *saya* and excercises the powers of a justice of the peace. He also intervenes in disputes, makes arrests and imprisonments, and receives accusations.
alferez ("banner-carrier")--the president and organizer of a religious festival
corregidor--a person with judiciary functions who represents the tribe before the government
demandas--complaints brought to the corregidor for injuries or alleged injuries
kaman-para--the sacred sticks, used in religious ceremonies
kχeru--large wooden mugs used at festival times for libations of chicha
mal'ku--sacred objects endowed with supernatural powers
samiri--usually flat calcareous stones, worshipped as being sacred by the Chipaya.

[For additional, scattered information about acts of propitiation performed in the course of rituals or extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

[For additional information about sacred objects and places, and associated rituals, see category 116, pp. 35-42, 51-54, 72-92, 96-107, 113-120.]

2: Métraux
822

SF24 Uru SF24

[For additional, scattered information about the use of colored items, the role of color, and possible color symbolism associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

2: Métraux SF24 Uru SF24

262, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

2: Métraux
171

SF24 Uru SF24

[For additional comparative data on material culture from other Andean groups, see category 116, pp. 183-206.]

192, 539 Uru SF24

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

2: Métraux
788

SF24 Uru SF24

[For information about specific rituals performed in the course of extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-120.]

2: Métraux
796

SF24 Uru SF24

[For additional information about religious ceremonies, especially in association with sacred objects and places, see category 116, pp. 54-58, 60-108, 118-120, 132-135, and 137-138a.]